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ABSTRACT

The Miscellaneous Studies section of this collection of conference presentations contains the following 22 papers: "Men and Women Journalists in the Movies: Exploration of Some Sexism and Gender Issues in Their Portrayals in Eleven Films" (Albert D. Talbott); "Female Archetypes in Late '80s Films" (Fakhri Haghani); "Chain Ownership, Organizational Prominence, and Editorial Role Perceptions" (Roya Akhavan-Majid and Timothy Boudreau); "Companionship in the Classifieds: The Adoption of Personal Advertisements by Daily Newspapers" (Debra L. Merskin and Mara Huberlie); "Ethics of the Fictional Journalist: How Novelists Portray Decisionmaking in the News Business" (Jay Black); "The Character, Evolution and Format of Ethics' Policies: Report on a Survey of Texas Daily Newspapers" (Dixie Evatt); "Deregulation of Radio Ownership Rules: Analyzing the Economic Impact of Duopoly" (Sylvia M. Chan-Olmstead); "The Greens Go Online": Interactive Media and the Environmentalist" (Jane B. Singer); "The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow: Robert M. Hutchins's Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism" (Fred Blevens); "Network Prime Time Programming Strategies in the 1980s" (Carolyn A. Lin); "Health Coverage in California Newspapers: CVD and AIDS Compete for Space" (S. Shyam Sundar); "Reconstructing the Hollywood Indian" (John M. Coward); "If It Weren't for Bad Luck...A Study of the Ways the Major Newspapers Frame Stories of Racially Comparative Risk" (Oscar H. Gandy, Jr.); "The Cost of Fighting Mother Nature: News Coverage of the 1993 Midwest Floods" (Ana C. Garner); "Crawling toward Civil Rights: A Qualitative Study of Media Coverage of Disability Activism" (Beth Haller); "The Native American Press--The Tribal Journalist's Perspective: Interviews with Nine Journalists from Southwestern Tribal Newspapers" (Leslie Alisoun Wright); "Electronic News Hawkers: Topic Selection and Placement of Teasers in Local Television Newscasts" (Dale E. Zacher); "Institutional Ownership of Publicly Traded U.S. Newspaper Companies" (Robert G. Picard); "A Study of the Relationship between Newspaper Subscription Price and Circulation from 1971 to 1992" (Regina Lewis); "Expertise vs. Trustworthiness in a Biotech Controversy: Attitude Similarity and Extremity and Farmers' Perceptions of BGH Information Sources" (John Marquart and others); "A Study of America's Front Pages: A 10-Year Update" (Steve Pasternack and Sandra H. Utt); and "The Meanings of Corporate Trademarks" (Edward A. Johnson). (NKA)

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Part X: Miscellaneous Studies

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Men and Women Journalists in the Movies: Exploration of Some Sexism and Gender Issues in Their Portrayals in Eleven Films

Albert D. Talbott

School of Journalism and Mass Communication
300A Communication Center
University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa 52242
U.S.A.

319-335-5846 (office)
319-338-6784 (home)

Brief Abstract

This study examined three predominant perception patterns which college students used to describe the portrayals of men and women journalists in eleven films employing a questionnaire drawing upon Q methodology. The major pattern was critical of most film journalists describing them as self-serving irresponsible opportunists. Another pattern was supportive of some film journalists describing them as competent, responsible, working professionals. The third pattern described some women film journalists as oppressed by sexism on the job.

A Paper Presented to a Joint Session of the
Commission of the Status of Women
and the
Mass Communication and Society Division
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Albert D. Talbott

School of Journalism and Mass Communication
300A Communication Center
University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa 52242

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In broadly considering the relationship between mass communication and society, one important source of understanding people have about journalism and journalists and how they function in society would derive from the ways journalists are perceived to be portrayed in various media and cultural products, e.g., feature and TV films, TV and radio series and dramas, novels, short stories, biographies, autobiographies, plays, comic books, cartoons, etc. This examination of the ways journalists have been portrayed in cultural media fare has been confined to eleven films available on commercially prepared video cassette recordings or recorded off the air or cable which featured both men and women journalists among the major characters.

During the 1991 spring and summer sessions, two classes involving 35 students participated in systematic evaluation and description of the ways they perceived journalists were portrayed in the selected films. The students used a specifically developed "Journalist Role Perception Questionnaire" to systematically describe the ways they saw journalists portrayed in general as well as their differential perceptions of the film depiction of both men and women journalists. The methodology basically employed a variation of Q methodology involving the use of factor analysis.

The two studies found three predominant patterns of the ways college students perceive journalists to be portrayed in the films. One pattern was basically negative and critical of journalists and described them as self-serving irresponsible opportunists and included both male and female portrayals but mostly male. This pattern included the most number of film portrayals. A second pattern was positive and supportive of journalists and described them as competent and responsible working professionals. This pattern included primarily male depictions from only a few films. The third pattern essentially described women journalists who were oppressed by sexism on the job. In spite of this discrimination and oppression, the women depicted were seen as consistent trying to do a competent and responsible job. A number of sexism and gender issues came into play when these three patterns were considered which help differentiate among the film images of men and women journalists.

Men and Women Journalists in the Movies: Exploration of Some Sexism and Gender Issues in Their Portrayals in Eleven Films

Albert D.Talbott

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

Preface

In broadly considering the relationship between mass media and society, one important source of understanding people have about journalism and journalists would derive from the ways they are perceived to be portrayed in various media and cultural products, e.g., feature films, television films, television and radio series and dramas, novels, short stories, biographies, plays, comic books, cartoons, etc. Since the introduction of the home video tape recorder, a wide variety of feature films have become readily available. This examination of the ways journalists have been portrayed in cultural media fare has been confined to motion picture feature films available on commercial VCR or recorded off the air or cable. There is a substantial pool of films produced over the years in which journalism is a major focus and/or journalists are among the major characters.

For purposes of this research, eleven feature films about journalists were selected for study which featured both men and women in journalistic roles. The images of journalists depicted in these films were analyzed taking special note of similarities and differences between the ways male and female journalists were portrayed. Some students viewed the films in a classroom context. Individual student perceptions of the portrayals of both men and women journalists were systematically collected for each of the selected films. The data were analyzed using Q methodology to understand the resulting predominant perceptual patterns among students both within each film and across the set of films.

Several assumptions underlie this research. One is that movies and other mass media fare serve as one of the important influences in shaping audience members' perceptions about journalists and a lot of other aspects of life. In addition, the same movies and mass media fare can also help reinforce existing perceptions and attitudes which may be quite important if the existing views about journalists are negative. The images people have about journalists may have consequences for the ways in which messages created by journalists are evaluated or accepted, i.e., are they accurate, credible, fair, believable, important, etc.? Another possible problem growing out of the portrayal of journalists in movies and TV programming, whether negative or positive, might be the impact such depictions may have on the kinds of people who get recruited into or attracted to the journalistic professions.

Literature Review

There has been reflected in the literature a great deal of concern about the way "reality" in general is represented in mass media fare and the way images of various societal groups have been portrayed in the media. Gerbner and his associates at the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania have been concerned for a number of years with the way reality in general is depicted in the media and the way that is reflected in the world views people develop as a consequence of consuming media fare (e.g., Gerbner and Gross (1981)). There has been concern reflected in the literature for a long time on the issue of stereotyping in mass media content (e.g., Lippman (1922); Greenberg and Heeter (1983); Sharits and Lammers (1983); Seiter (1986)). Another general area of interest concerns the relationship between ideology and media cultural products (e.g., Hall (1977); Smythe (1981); Barrett et al. (1979)).

There is a large amount of research devoted to exploring the images of various societal groups as they are projected in mass media fare. A wide variety of the media has been explored in these studies including film, TV, books, novels, romance novels, fiction, news, advertising, comic strips, magazines, children's literature, annual reports, MTV, etc.

Women and media in a variety of relationships has been extensively studied. This body of literature is especially pertinent to the research presented in this paper. Dyer (1990) has developed a comprehensive bibliography in the area of women and the media which documents a sizable number of sources in a number of classifications. There are are a number of excellent general sources, compilations of articles and literature reviews available relative to the general topic women and the media (e.g., Butcher (1974); Marzoff (1977); Tuchman, Daniels and Beret (1978); Butler and Paisley (1980); Smith (1982); Steeves (1987); Creedon (1989)).

There is a large amount of literature which discusses the employment of women the media, the treatment they get on the job by colleagues, supervisors and others and the career opportunities that are open to women. Some of this literature is in the form of histories of women journalists (e.g., Marzoff(1977)). Other sources involve the personal accounts of the experiences of women who have made ground breaking careers in the both the print (e.g., Mills (1988)) and broadcast (e.g., Sanders and Rock (1988)) journalistic media. Some involve research accounts resulting from field surveys into the nature of employment of women in the media (e.g., see Lafky's (1991) chapter in Weaver and Wilhoit (1991)).

A wide variety of research has developed which explores various aspects of the ways woman have been represented in various media.forms such as TV programming (e.g., Seggar (1977); McGee and Frueh (1980); Seggar, Hafen and Hannonen-Gladden (1981); Atwood, Brown and Webber (1986); Zemach and Cohen (1986); Reep and Dambrot (1988)), advertising in general (e.g., Duffy (1991)) TV advertising (e.g., Ferrante, Haynes and Kingsley (1988)), magazine advertising (e.g., Sullivan and O'Connor (1988), Cooper, Rogers and Jenkins (1990)), print advertising (e.g., Goffman (1979)); films and novels about journalists (e.g., Langer-Burns (1989); McMane (1991)); MTV (e.g., Vincent, Davis and Bomszkowski (1987)), corporate annual reports (e.g., Newson (1988)), comic strips (e.g., Thaber (1987)), romance novels (e.g., Ruggiero and Weston (1983)). This body of research and writing is extensive.

Butler, Paisley and colleagues have developed an interesting research tool for assessing the degree of sexism in the representations of women and men found in advertising (Pingree, Hawkins, Butler and Paisley (1976); Butler and Paisley (1980, pp. 148-169)). It is termed the "Conscientious Scale for Media Sexism." It is basically a five level interpretative guide which is useful for categorizing media depicted male and/or female images and the representations of the relationships between and among the sexes at the various levels of sexism. For a couple of interesting applications of the scale in print advertising, see Lazier-Smith (1989) and Cooper, Rogers and Jenkins (1990). The scale was adapted for use in the research conducted for this paper but the results will not be reported on in this paper.[1] McMane (1991) did make use the scale in some research in which she explored the degree of sexism represented in the portrayals of women journalists in selected films. Her use of the scale was less systematic than the application in this research which adapted it for use by viewers of films to express judgments of the sexism they saw in the film representations of both men and women. She used it only as a very general interpretative guide for her assessment of the general images of women she saw reflected in her analysis of the films.

The way race and ethnicity are reflected in mass media content has been the focus of a lot of research (e.g., Institute of Race Relations (1976); Woll and Miller (1987)). Some of the ethnic and racial groups that have been studied extensively include Hispanics (e.g., Faber, O'Guinn and Meyer (1987); Greenberg et al. (1983)), blacks (e.g., Zinkhan, Cos and Hong (1986); Gray (1986); Humphrey and Schuman (1984)), American Indians (e.g., Murphy and Murphy (1981); Murphy (1974)), and Arabs (e.g., Shaheen (1984); Shaheen (1990)). A few of the other societal groups which have been singled out for study of the way they are portrayed in media fare include lawyers (e.g., Chase (1986)), advertising practitioners (e.g., Maddox and Zanot (1985)), scientists (e.g., Gerbner, Gross and Signorielli (1981)); health care professionals including administrators, physicians and nurses (e.g., Turow (1985); Kalisch and Kalisch (1984)), foreigners (e.g., Gumpert and Cathcart (1983)), children (e.g., Jackson (1986)); and the elderly (e.g., Cassata, Anderson and Skill (1983)).

Much more research on various societal groups could be cited. The general tenor of the conclusions to be drawn from most of these studies is that many societal groups are not fully satisfied with their representations in the media.

The way journalists have been portrayed in the media has also been studied but not as extensively as many of the other societal groups. This small body of research has focused on primarily two media forms, novels and Hollywood films. One of the earliest studies was by Barris (1976) which involved examination of the the images of journalists in Hollywood films after the introduction of sound. Prior to sound, Barris found the role of journalist was very seldom portrayed in silent motion pictures. His analysis focused upon sound films prior to the seventies. His mode of analysis was primarily literary and emphasized the description of a number of kinds of images of the journalist that he saw reflected in these films. His classification of the image patterns included the journalist as "crime buster, scandalmonger, crusader, foreign correspondent, human being, sob sister, editor, publisher" and finally as "villain." His review of films prior to the seventies was extensive.

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[1] For the adaptation of the scale used in this research, see Appendix D.

Another earlier study was detailed in a brief article by Zynda (1979) entitled "The Hollywood Version: Movie Portrayals of the Press." It was a highly selective review of films from some of the earliest (e.g., "Front Page" (1931)) to films of the mid-seventies (e.g., "All the President's Men" (1976); "Network" (1976)). Although not stated in his article, his review was done in connection with a class in which he presented a number of the films he reviewed. At the time of the study, Zynda was a faculty member in the University of Iowa School of Journalism. His approach was primarily a literary form of analysis. He did get some informal feedback from students in the class in which he presented some of the films. Both Barris and Zynda generally conclude that the portrayal of the journalist in Hollywood films was primarily on the negative side with a few notable exceptions.

Howard Good published a couple of small books on his studies of the image of journalists as portrayed in various literary forms. One dealt with the image of journalists in American fiction from 1890 to 1930 (Good (1986b)). The other concerned with the image of journalists as revealed in selected contemporary films (Good (1989)). In a monograph, Good (1986a) focused on the image of war correspondents in Anglo-American fiction. Another literary form in which Good (1987) examined was the image of the journalist is poetry. Good's mode of analysis in his work was primarily literary. He was interested in categorizing the patterns of the stories that the films, print fiction and poems tell about the journalists. The titles of his two books basically summarized the general tenor of his main conclusions about the predominantly negative images of journalists he finds in novels and films: Acquainted with the Night (as portrayed in fiction early in this century) and Outcasts (as portrayed in contemporary films).

Some film scholars, critics and writers have noted the affinity Hollywood has for making the newsroom and journalists a staple in a number of films (e.g., Rossell (1975); Fuller (1975); Ryan (1985); Gross (1985)). One critic (Garner (1990), p. 6) observed: "Some things never change--like the lousy way that newspaper reporters and broadcast journalists are portrayed in the movies and on TV." Another popular media article examined the role of investigative journalists in society and humorously linked it to one very prominent comic book, TV and film image of the journalist, Clark Kent (Daley (1973)). The depictions of journalists in such films were more often than not characterized as negative.

Journalists have also noticed how they are portrayed in films and are not generally satisfied with what they see. One White House reporter drew such conclusions in an article entitled "How Hollywood Views the Press in the Flicks" when a Nieman Fellow (Van Riper (1979)). USA Today had a collection of brief reviews of ten films about journalists all available on VCR (Clark (1986)). In Editor & Publisher, film critic Jerry Roberts (1989) compiled a list of the 25 best pictures about newspapers and journalists with brief commentaries. Journalist and university journalism teacher, Steve Weinberg (1989), wrote a brief article for the New York Times Book Review discussing journalism novels.

In the ASNE Bulletin, one observer of such films devised a test so that you can assess your knowledge about film journalists (Mahon (1989)). In another ASNE Bulletin. article, McKeen (1990, p. 28) begins his observations of the ways journalists are portrayed in books and movies with the admonition: "Face it, You're Scum." He adds: "...rarely has a profession been treated so poorly by writers and filmmakers as journalists have" (p. 29). A very recent Editor & Publisher article summarized its conclusions in the title: "Stereotyping Journalists: Whether in the movies of the 1930s or the 1980s, newspeople are usually portrayed as rude, divorced, hard-drinking, cigarette-smoking misfits" (Gersh (1991)).

Journalists are aware that the public often displays negativity in their attitudes toward the the ways members of the press do their work. The Gannett Foundation and the national professional society, Women in Communication, Inc., cooperated in producing a video which seeks to document some of the image problems and tries to offer some tentative tactics designed to help remedy the situation. Part of the problem, according to the video, rests in the ways journalists are unrealistically and negatively portrayed in films and TV programs. The title of the video summed up the major problem: "The Image of Arrogance" (Women in Communication, Inc. and The Gannett Foundation (1984)).

As an indication of the concern that journalists may have for the way they are portrayed in motion picture films, a brief news item in Editor & Publisher ("SPJ, SDX..." (1986)) indicated that the "Los Angeles Chapter of the Society of

Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, is angry over they way other media, most notably films, portray the journalist. To fight back, this chapter has mounted Operation Watchdog, a pressure group aimed at `leading creative people in the right direction' when portraying writers on the screen, as well as increasing public appreciation of the First Amendment."

Another manifestation of the general interest in the image of the journalist as represented to the public was occasioned by a Library of Congress exhibition running from April 5 to August 12, 1990 entitled "The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press" (The Library of Congress, 1990)). The exhibit was created with the cooperation of the American Society of Newspaper Editors with a $325,000 grant from the Gannett Foundation. This exhibition was taken to Boston for the 1991 Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Convention. Newspaper editor and guest curator for the exhibition, Loren Ghiglione (1990), published a book based on the display and background materials gathered. Two central foci of the exhibit and the book included the journalist of fact and the journalist of fiction. The former derived principally from historical accounts and archives, biographies and autobiographies; the latter drew actively upon fictional representations of journalists in various literary forms, mostly novels, films,and radio and TV programs.

One consistent conclusion across this developing body of literature was that the image of journalist as portrayed in novels and Hollywood films has had a strong negative and critical flavor with a few exceptions. This was particularly true for Hollywood films.

The studies reported on in this paper basically grow out of Talbott's (1989; 1990) research on the perception patterns of 240 students of the movie portrayals of journalists in 42 films in seven studies conducted from 1987-1990.[2] These studies focused on the general descriptions of the ways journalists in all media--newspapers, magazine, TV, radio, etc.--were portrayed in a wide variety of situations and contexts. Most of the previous work in the area has been primarily some form of literary analysis. One contribution which this line of research has added to the consideration of the problem was to examine the images that people or viewers attach to the films when they view them.

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[2] For a list of the films used for this research in each class and a list of the class sizes, see Tables 6 and 7, Appendix E.

Three other papers by Talbott and his colleagues analyzed film journalists in specific kinds of roles or situations. Talbott and Starck (1991a; 1991b) examined seven films which featured journalists in the role of foreign correspondent. The journalists in the films covered war situations in cultural settings much different from their own. Talbott and Simmons (1990) focused on nine films which cast journalists in situations in which they worked closely with law enforcement. The movies were selected because they strongly portrayed the journalistic media-law enforcement relationship in a variety of contexts.

These studies reinforced the conclusions drawn from the previous studies and writing about the negative portrayal of journalists in the media with particular emphasis upon film. When students watch the films, basically two perception patterns or images emerge.

One pattern, Type I, was strongly negative and highly critical of movie journalists. They were viewed as self-serving, arrogant vultures willing to pounce on anybody or anything if it might yield a scoop or an exclusive. Such journalists used all kinds of questionable, unethical and sometimes illegal tactics to gather information for stories which they readily slant and misuse for personal and/or corporate gain.

The other pattern, Type II, was positive and strongly supportive of the film journalist and would be descriptive the the "ideal" journalist. These journalists are viewed as adhering to the more traditional ethics and practices of the profession. They are described as self-starters, dedicated to the truth, want to provide accurate and complete information when possible, committed to serving the public, use ethical and responsible news gathering tactics and have strong research and investigative skills.

Most film portrayals were perceived by students to be of the Type I pattern, negative and critical. Very few journalists in film are described by students to be highly similar to the Type II pattern, positive and supportive. The prototype of the highly negative film about journalists was the "Front Page" (1931) and its sequels: "His Girl Friday" (1940), "The Front Page" (1974) and "Switching Channels" (1988), all of which were based on a 1928 hit Broadway play. One of the few more recent films which presented a strongly positive depiction of journalists was "All the President's Men" (1976) which was about Woodward and Bernstein, the Washington Post reporters who uncovered the

Watergate scandal involving President Nixon. The image of the journalist in this film was prototypic of the Type II pattern.

The two studies reported on in this paper basically extend Talbott's research on the portrayal of journalists in film in an alternative direction. The previous research emphasized very general descriptions of the journalists with little or no reference to sexism and/or gender issues. During the conduct of that research, one very interesting question which emerged concerned the similarities and differences among the ways men and women journalists were portrayed in movies. The previous research instrument used to explore the general perceptions of journalist just was not designed to get at sex role differentiation. Consequently, the research instrument had to be re-designed in order for it to be sensitive to sex role differences in way men and women journalists are portrayed in film..

Statement of Problem

It is the purpose of this paper to explore the images or perception patterns students have of both men and women journalists as they are depicted in film. For the task at hand, eleven films were selected in which both men and women journalists are cast as main or important characters in the plot. The participating students viewed all of the films in a classroom setting. A variation of Q methodology was used to systematically collect the perceptions students had of the ways they saw both men and women journalists portrayed in each film. The data were analyzed along Q lines using factor analysis to determine the predominant perception patterns among students for both men and women journalists within each film and also, across the set of films.

Specific research questions raised in the paper include: How do feature films portray both men and women journalists? What general patterns of the images are perceived by the student participants for each film? How do these individual film patterns compare across all of the films? What are the similarities and differences among the perception patterns for both male and female film journalists? What specific or key elements or issues are important in understanding the various patterns or images of the journalists (e.g., ethics, tactics, skills, job responsibilities, relationships, sexism and gender issues, etc.)? Just how these objectives were accomplished will be described in the methodology section.

SECTION 2: METHODOLOGY

Study Participants

During spring and summer sessions 1991, two classes involving a total of thirty-five students participated in evaluating the selected films. Both classes were part of the regular offerings of the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Iowa and were taught by the author. Both classes were titled "Popular Culture and Mass Communication." One major focus of the class was announced to be the study of selected feature films in order to describe, understand and analyze the patterns of the ways with which journalism and the role of journalists have been considered and portrayed. Students were informed that the films had been selected which depict both men and women as journalists. The other major focus of the analysis of the films would be to compare and contrast the ways both men and women were portrayed as journalists.

The spring class (N=24) was larger that the summer class (N=10). The spring class meet for a longer period of time so that class considered two additional films which the summer class did not view.[3] About two thirds of each class were journalism majors with the rest drawn from a variety of areas, e.g., business, communication studies, social sciences, education, etc. With respect to undergraduate/graduate enrollment, only two of the twenty-four students in the spring class were graduate students while half was in the summer class of ten.

Research Related Class Activities

Initially in the classes, students had some reading assignments designed to acquaint them with some of the literature on the role of journalism and journalists in society to provide a basis for evaluating the films. This literature in the reading assignments was organized into the following units 1) the Commission on the Freedom of the Press looks at the press and society, 2) journalists talk about their role, 3) journalism educators discuss journalism and the role of journalist, 4) researchers explore the role of journalist, 5) women look at women in the media and women journalists, 6) media codes of ethics and 7) journalism and journalists in the movies.

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[3] See Table 1, Appendix A for list of the films each class considered.

Before viewing the films, students were asked to do some assignments designed to prepare them for analyzing the films relative to the way the journalists were portrayed in general and by sex role. Students were asked to discuss the "ideal journalist" in a brief paper. Also, they viewed a couple of episodes from the TV series "Lou Grant" and were asked to write a brief paper on the ways journalists were portrayed in the episodes watched. In addition, they all viewed and discussed the film "All the President's Men," one of the very few films in which journalists are positively portrayed. They were not required to write a paper about this film. The students used a questionnaire (to be detailed below) to systematically describe both their ideas about the "ideal journalist" and the way journalists were portrayed in the Lou Grant episodes and "All The President's Men.". These preliminary assignments and the readings occupied the first quarter of the course.

The remaining three-fourths of the course involved primarily viewing and analyzing the selected films. After viewing each film, students wrote brief written analytic essays (of at least 2 pages), focusing on how the role of journalist was portrayed in the film in general as well as sex role differences that they discerned. Also, students completed Journalistic Role Perception Questionnaires describing the way they felt that journalists had been portrayed in the film using a set forty-four descriptive items. This questionnaire had some variations in format and wording depending upon what the students were asked to evaluate.

In addition, students in the spring class wrote two longer analysis papers at mid-term and at the end of the term comparing and contrasting the ways they saw the journalists portrayed within and among the films that they viewed during the semester. For summer school students, both papers were combined into a single longer final paper. Students were also expected to be assigned to teams and help lead a class discussion for one (spring class) or two (summer class) of the films.

Selection of the Films Used in the Research

The films selected for study included ones which depicted both men and women journalists in major or staring roles[4]. Ten of the eleven films were were chosen from the forty-three films used in the Talbott's previous seven studies which best fit the selection criteria. The other remaining film was actually the initial two episodes of a TV series (WIOIU) which started in the fall of 1990. It was selected because it involved multiple major roles for both men and women journalists in a TV newsroom and the plot was set in a very contemporary setting involving current professional issues. All eleven films were used for the Spring 1991 class and study. Due to less time being available during summer sessions, nine of the films were used for the Summer 1991 study (excluded "Meet John Doe" and "Superman IV"). The eleven films used in the research were as follows:[5]

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[4] For a list of the eleven films, see Table 1, Appendix A.

01. His Girl Friday (1940)
02. Meet John Doe (1941).
03. Teacher's Pet (1958).
04. Network (1976).
05. The China Syndrome (1979).
06. Absence of Malice (1981).
07. Max Headroom (1985).
08. Broadcast News (1987).
09. Superman IV: The Quest for Peace (1987).
10. Switching Channels (1988).
11. WIOU TV Series Episodes (1990).

Journalist Role Perception Questionnaire Design

The basic questionnaire was designed around a set of forty-four items which described various aspects of the role of journalist including a number of sexism and gender issues.[6] A major source of these items was the questionnaire which Talbott (1990) had used in his previous film studies. These items had come from a variety of sources which included previous Q studies of the role of journalists, other kinds of studies which focused on the study of journalists or journalistic institutions, articles by journalists in which they discuss various aspects of their role, journalism reporting and writing lab manuals, codes of ethics, and some of the literature which critiques the performance of journalists or journalistic institutions or comments on the relationship of media and society.

However, the current item set had to be broadened from the previous research so that sexism and gender issues could be considered. Some of the additional items came from viewing and analyzing the films from the previous studies and the research outcomes. Some were suggested by comments and discussion students make in papers and class discussion. In addition, other literature had to be consulted for devising other items which reflected other sexism and gender issues. Such sources included the following: Creedon (1989), Steeves (1989), Butler and Paisley (1980), Tuchman, Daniels and Benet (1978), Lafky (1991), Mills (1988), and Sanders and Rock (1988). The final set of statements after culling from a much larger pool contained forty-four items. All items were stated in descriptive terms only; none were cast in a normative voice with "oughts" or "shoulds."

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[5] A brief synopsis of each of the eleven films used in the research will be found in Appendix A immediately after Table 1 in Table 1 Addendum.

[6] See Table 4, Appendix A for a complete list of items in their generic format.

The questionnaire items basically constituted a set of Q items drawn from a concourse. They were used in the questionnaire format for logistical reasons rather than the conventional Q-sort format with each item on a separate card forming a deck to be physically sorted.[7] Students were asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement on an eleven-point scale as to whether that the item described the portrayal of the journalist as they saw it in the film.[8]

Different versions of the questionnaire had to be assembled depending on what students were asked to describe. Since the eleven films had been selected because they contained both male and female journalists as major characters in the film, students were asked to describe male and female journalists separately. When describing female journalists, the item set was sex role specific to female. When describing male journalists, the item set was sex role specific to male. For example, Item 20 reads in its generic form (not sex role specific):[9] "Journalists are honest and trustworthy." When it appeared on the section of a questionnaire used to describe a male journalist portrayal, it read:[10] "Male journalists are honest and trustworthy." When the same item appeared on the section of the questionnaire used to describe a female journalist portrayal, it read:[11] "Female journalists are honest and trustworthy."

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[7] For a description of the use of questionnaires in this kind of application in Q-methodology, see Berkowitz and Talbott (1991).

[8] For the scale used, see Appendices B and C.

[9] For a sample page of items in the generic format, see the third page of Appendix B.

[10] For a sample page of the male sex role specific item format, see the second page of Appendix C.

[11] For a sample page of the female sex role specific item format, see the third page of Appendix C.

When describing both male and female journalist portrayals for a film, the questionnaire contained separate sections for each sex role.[12] Half of the questionnaires were assembled with the male section first while the other half had the female section first as a research design control device for order of presentation. This sex role specific version of the "Journalist Role Description Questionnaire" was used for the basic set of films used for each study and for the "Lou Grant" TV episodes (there were both male and female journalist major characters).

For the the sex role specific version of the questionnaire, there was a third section of it which always appeared last that used an adaptation of the the "Consciousness Scale for Media Sexism" which was briefly described in the literature review.[13] No further discussion of it will be included since the analysis of that data will not be reported on in this paper.

When describing the ideal journalist and the journalists from "All the President's Men" (there were no major women journalist characters), the items were included in a single section questionnaire in the generic form (not sex role specific). After viewing about half of the films, students were asked to use the generic questionnaire form to describe their concept the typical, "actual journalist" as he or she actually does his or her job in contemporary society, i.e., the 1990s. At the end of the semester, students again used the generic form to describe their notions of "ideal journalist" for a second time.[14]

Data Analysis

The journalist role perception questionnaire data were factor analyzed along Q lines for each film separately for each sex role with persons as variables and items as observations in typical Q methodology fashion.[15] In addition to the films, students were also asked to use the same sex role specific version of the questionnaire to describe the journalist as portrayed separately for each sex in a couple of Lou Grant TV series episodes (obtained at the beginning of semester before viewing any films). These data were all factor analyzed in the same way. The data were initially factored using the principal axis method followed by varimax rotation. Hand or visual rotation was used for all analyses for which the varimax solution was not an appropriate representation. The factor scores for each factor were then estimated by weighting the variables or persons most associated with each factor by the magnitude of their factor loadings. Each factor represented a predominant view of the way the male or female journalist was perceived to be portrayed in a given film for a grouping or cluster of people.[16]

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[12] For the instructions and sample item pages for the sex role specific version of the questionnaire, see Appendix C.

[13] For the scale as used in this research and a brief description of each level, see Appendix D.

[14] For the instructions to the various forms of the generic version of the questionnaire and a sample item page, see Appendix B

[15] For basic discussions of William Stephenson's Q methodology, see Stephenson (1975), Stephenson (1967), Stephenson (1953), Brown (1980), Brown and Brenner (1972), Talbott (1971), and MacLean (1965). For a description of the specific factor analytic procedures used for these studies, see MacLean, Talbott and Danbury (1975).

Students used the generic form of the questionnaire (not sex role specific) to describe the "ideal journalist" as they saw him/her (obtained at both the beginning and the end of the semester), the journalist portrayals in "All the President's Men" (obtained at the beginning of the semester) and the typical "actual journalist" as she/he fulfills her/his responsibilities in the 1990's (obtained mid-semester). Each of these questionnaire descriptions were factor analyzed separately.

The results of these individual film and other description analyses were reported to the class. The factor scores from each of the individual analyses were collected and subjected to a second-order factor analysis periodically. The second-order factor analyses used the same basic procedures as were involved in the factor analyses for each the films. The results of these analyses were also reported to the class.

Basically, three kinds of patterns emerged in each of the two second-order factor analyses of the individual factors derived from each of the two classes.[17] In each analysis, one pattern of the way journalists were described was quite critical and negative, a second pattern involved journalist descriptions which were quite supportive and positive, and a third pattern described the journalist portrayals with sexist overtones. The corresponding three second-order patterns were quite similar when each of the spring factor was compared to the equivalent summer factor. The correlations were as follows: first patterns--.94, second patterns--.92, and third patterns--.88.[18]

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[16] For a listing of the factors emerging from the individual factor analyses for each film or other journalist description, see the variable lists in Table 2 for the spring study and Table 3 for the summer study in Appendix A.

[17] See Tables 2 and 3, Appendix A.

The six factors from the two second-order factor analyses were submitted to a third-order factor analysis using the same factor analytic procedures as previously used.[19] Obviously, three factors emerged from this analysis. What follows is the detailed descriptions of those three basic types of the ways students saw journalists portrayed in the films obtained from the third-order factor analysis.[20]

SECTION 3: DESCRIPTIONS OF THE THREE OVERALL PATTERNS OR TYPES OF THE WAYS STUDENTS PERCEIVE JOURNALISTS TO BE PORTRAYED IN THE SELECTED FILMS ABOUT JOURNALISTS

TYPE I JOURNALISTS: The Self-Serving Irresponsible Opportunist (both male and female but mostly male)

Type I journalists are very aggressive (7) and are prepared to go to any length to get a story (32).[21] The are very interested in getting the story in print or on the air first, to have an exclusive scoop (4). These journalists are dedicated to their work; everything takes a back seat including family, friends and social activities (34).

In the newsroom, male Type I journalists have the positions of power and authority (29). Type I women share very little power and responsibility with the men in running the newsroom. Type I journalists as portrayed in the films include both men and women journalists, but men are the most numerous.

Type I journalists sometimes develop very intense personal relationships with some of the other journalists with whom they work closely (28). But with most other journalists, there is often a strong competitive streak (31). Type I journalists often display more than an average amount of arrogance (39).

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[18] See Table 4, Appendix A.

[19] See Table 4, Appendix A

[20] See Table 5, Appendix A

[21] In the text, the numbers in parentheses, e.g., (32), refer the the questionnaire or Q item number that is being discussed in the text. A complete list of the 44 items will be found in Table 5, Appendix A.

Type I journalists do not always leave their romantic liaisons outside of the newsroom or the gathering of the news (11). They are described as using flirting, small talk or flattery to get what they want from colleagues or sources (30). They are not seen as very honest and trustworthy (20). Type I journalists pander to morbid curiosity about vice, crime, violence, murder, and perversion in the stories they cover (6).

Type I journalists often help create the news they cover (3). They are seen to engage in a variety of highly questionable and sometimes unethical practices and tactics in gathering and presenting the news. These journalists sometimes resort to subterfuge, deception, misrepresentation or hidden agendas in order to get important information for assignments (16). Some of the positive practices they avoid include:

- do not check, double check and double check again; verification is not very important (1).
- do not conduct their personal lives in a manner which protects them from conflicts of interest (14).
- do not report on things the way they are, but add their own interpretations (21).
- do not take an impersonal or deliberate detachment when reporting on events (37).
- do not show respect for the dignity, privacy, rights and well-being of the people encountered in the course of gathering and presenting the news (27).
- do not make clear distinctions between news reports and expressions of opinion (17).

Type I journalists often include in their stories unofficial charges affecting the reputation or moral character of persons without giving the accused a chance to reply (2). They are not likely to suppress a story or facts even if it may cause harm or embarrassment to innocent people (13).

The view of Type I journalists is negative and strongly critical of their overall performance.

TYPE II JOURNALISTS: The Competent and Responsible Working Professional Journalist (primarily male)

Type II journalists know how to use the language and write interesting stories (23). In the newsroom and the gathering of the news, Type II journalists are respected by colleagues (24). Most often, male Type II journalists have the power and responsibility for running the newsroom (29). Occasionally, males share some power with females, but not the top positions. The film portrayals most prototypic of Type II journalists are primarily men but do include some women. The kind of news person described by Type II concerns working journalists who are trying to do a competent and responsible professional job.

Type II journalists are aggressive (7) and are very interested in getting the story in print or on the air first, to have an exclusive scoop (4). However, these journalists are very skilled at research and investigation, at fact finding in general (41). Type II journalists check, double check, and then double check again, verification is all important (1). These journalists show a great deal of diligence, perseverance and persistence in everything they do in their professional lives (10). They pursue their scoops or exclusives in basically responsible ways.

They do not have to put up with sexual harassment on the job (36). Also, they do not use their physical attractiveness or sex appeal to get what they want (26).

Type II journalists have the appropriate background and experience for the positions they hold in the newsroom (42). They are given the appropriate amount of autonomy in handling enterprise or investigative stories (5). There are no kinds of stories which Type II journalists do not get assigned (22). These journalists get to cover their fair share of hard news or breaking stories (40).

These journalists weigh the consequences of the stories they write, but they will not necessarily suppress a story or facts just because embarrassment or harm may come to innocent people (13).

Type II journalists do not resort to checkbook journalism and buy important information or stories that might not be available in any other way (18). They do not resort to subterfuge, deception, misrepresentation or hidden agendas in order to get important information for assignments (16). These journalists try to avoid helping create the news they cover (3).

Type II journalists show a great deal of basic honesty and responsibility in the tactics, practices and ethics which they use in the reporting and gathering of news. This is a positive view of the competent and responsible working journalist.

TYPE III JOURNALISTS: The Woman Journalist Oppressed by Sexism

Type III journalists know how to use the language and to write interesting stories (23). They excel in situations where journalists can identify and empathize with people (19). They are honest and trustworthy (20). The film portrayals most associated with Type III almost exclusively concern women journalists.

Type III women journalists do not share the power and responsibility of running the newsroom with men (29). The men are in charge; these women journalists are not. Type III women journalists do not get their fair share of hard news or breaking stories (40) as well as other choice kinds assignments (44). In addition to all of this, they also have to put up with sexual harassment on the job. In spite of this discrimination, these women journalists are seen as having appropriate background and experience for the positions they hold in the newsroom (42). Type III women journalists are seen as dedicated and hard working in that they show diligence, perseverance and persistence in everything they do in their professional lives (10). They share with their male colleagues the interest in getting the story in print or on the air first, to have an exclusive scoop (4).

Another matter which Type III women have in common with their male colleagues relates to their love lives; both men and women journalists are seen as having difficulty keeping their romantic liaisons outside the newsroom and the gathering of news (11).

With respect to those few journalists with whom they work very closely, Type III women sometimes develop intense personal relationships (28). With most other journalists, these women take a strong competitive stance in the way they relate to them (31). They share these characterizations in common with male journalists.

On the negative side, Type III women journalists do not always conduct their lives in a manner which protects them from either real or apparent conflicts of interest (14). One specific negative practice which is fraught with potential conflicts of interest which they avoid was resorting to checkbook journalism (18).

Type III women journalists are seen as only human in that they "lose it" once in a while considering the stress they often have to face on the job (15). They are also not viewed as displaying a lot of arrogance.

On the positive side possible tactics, Type III women not resort to subterfuge, deception, misrepresentation or hidden agendas in order to get important information for assignments. These women are also seen as taking an impersonal and deliberate detachment in reporting (37).

Like their male colleagues, Type III women are not very receptive to suppressing stories or facts even when they may cause embarrassment or harm to innocent people (13).

Type III journalists are women who face the discrimination and the oppressive effects of sexism in the newsroom. In spite of this undesirable situation, these women journalists are seen as consistently trying to do a competent and responsible job.

Comparison of Type I and Type II Journalists

Type I journalist are seen as irresponsible; Type II journalists are are seen as responsible. Type I journalists are viewed as dishonest and untrustworthy; Type II journalists are viewed as honest and trustworthy (20). The former often help create they news they cover; the latter do not (3). Overall, Type I journalists are seen as more arrogant than than Type II journalists.

In spite of sharp differences between Type I and Type II journalists, there are some characteristics they share in common. Both Types I and II journalists share in the power and responsibility of running the newsroom (29). However, that power is unevenly distributed between men and women. Men are primarily in charge. Women do not have any of the very top executive positions.

Both are aggressive (7) and both are interested in getting the story in print or on the air first, to have an exclusive scoop (4). But, they use different tactics and have different ethics, as we will see. With most other journalists, both Type I and II journalists are likely to posture a competitive relationship (31).

Both types of journalists are dedicated; they show diligence and perseverance in their professional lives (10). However, for Type I journalists that dedication is more obsessive since it is more likely that family, friends and social activities have very low priority (34).

When it comes to tactics and strategies in gathering, reporting and presenting the news, there are very sharp differences between Type I and II journalists. Type I journalists are a bit more prepared than Type I journalists to go to any length to get the story (32). Type I journalists are more likely to pander to morbid curiosity about vice, crime, violence, murder, perversion etc. in the stories they cover (6).

The list of undesirable and questionable tactics which Type I is more likely to use while Type II tries to avoid includes:

- using of subterfuge and deception to get information (16).
- using checkbook journalism (18).
- getting involved in conflicts of interest (14).
- becoming involved and not taking a detached stance (37).

The list of desirable or appropriate tactics which Type II is more likely to practice than Type I includes:

- reporting on things the way they are and not adding their own interpretation (21).
- showing respect for the dignity, privacy, rights and well-being of the persons encountered in gathering and presenting the news (27).
- making clear distinctions between news reports and expressions of opinion (17).
- checking, double checking and double checking again, verification is all important (1).
- giving persons accused in stories the right of reply (2).

There are some important differences between the two types on some sexism and gender issues concerning their conduct both in the newsroom and in the gathering of news. Type I journalists are more likely than Type II journalist to engage in the following kinds of behaviors:

- use their physical attractiveness or sex appeal to get what they want (26).
- use flirting, small talk or flattery to get what they want from colleagues or sources (30).
- let their romantic liaisons intrude into the newsroom and the gathering of news even though both have such proclivities but to differential degrees (11).

In general, Type II journalists seldom face any sexual harassment on the job (36). However, since Type I journalists are more likely to be on the giving end of sexual harassment related behaviors, they are a bit more likely to encounter sexual harassment on the job. But, it still would not be very pronounced for either Type I and II male journalists. That situation is less true for most of the women journalists of Type II.

Type II journalists are more skilled than Type I journalists at research and investigation, at fact finding in general (41). In contrast to Type I, Type II journalists think more quickly on their feet and make sounder decisions (43). Type I journalists are more likely to buckle under stress than Type II journalists (15). Type II journalists are more likely than Type I to have the appropriate background and experience for the positions they hold in the newsroom (42). In general, Type II journalists get more respect from colleagues than do Type I journalists (24).

Comparison of Type III Journalists with Both Type I and Type II Journalists

Type III journalists are mainly representative of some films in which the portrayal of the female journalist involved a number of gender and sexism issues. This pattern will be contrasted to both of the other two patterns collectively. The questions addressed are as follows: a) What do Type III journalists share in common with both Types I and II? and b) What differentiates Type III from both Types I and II journalists?

All journalists in the films show diligence, perseverance and persistence in everything they do in their professional lives (10). They are all very much interested in getting the story in print or on the air first, to have an exclusive scoop (4). There is a strong competitive streak in the way most film journalists relate to each other (31) expect for a few they work closely with in which intense personal relationships can develop (28). All film journalists are not very receptive to suppressing stories or facts even when they may cause embarrassment or harm to innocent people (13).

On the negative side, most film journalists have some degree of difficulty in leaving their romantic liaisons outside the newsroom or the gathering of news. However, both Types I and III are the most prone in this respect (11).

The strongest difference between Type III journalists and Types I and II concerns the unequal distribution of power and authority in the newsroom (29). Type III women do not have any; Type I and II journalists have all of it. Even with Types I and II, the more likely situation is that males are in charge; very occasionally, women may share some of the power but certainly not the very top authority positions.

In contrast to Types I and II, Type III women journalists are more likely to excel in situations where the coverage involves identifying and empathizing with people (19). In their deportment on the job, Type III women are described as less arrogant (39), less skeptical (35) and less aggressive (7) than the other types. Type III women are seen as somewhat more honest and trustworthy than their film colleagues described in Types I and II (20).

In contrast to male dominated Types I and II, Type III women journalists face the following two important kinds of discriminatory practices:

- they do not cover their fair share of hard news or breaking stories (40).
- they do not get their fair share of choice assignments (44).
- they do not get to cover some kinds of assignments (22).
- they do not get the same degree of autonomy in handling enterprise or investigative stories (50).

Type III women journalists are seen as more likely than either Type I and Type II journalists to have to put up with sexual harassment on the job (36). Many of the major differences between the Type III pattern and both Type I and II patterns concern a number of sexism and gender related issues.

Individual Film Patterns Associated with the Three Major Types

The principal individual film patterns that are related to each of the three overall types are briefly described in this section.[22] The number of film patterns representing student perceptions of male and female journalists in each film in the two classes could range from one to three. Different film patterns from the same film may be associated with different overall types. The descriptions of the journalists for the Ideal and Actual Journalists and for "All the President's Men" were not sex role specific. All other film descriptions involved considering separately the male and female journalist portrayals in the films in the ten films and episodes from the two TV series

TYPE I Individual Film Patterns--The most prototypic patterns associated with Type I included student descriptions of both the male and female journalists in "Network," the male journalists in both of the stage play ("The Front Page") sequels of "His Girl Friday" and "Switching Channels," and both the male and female journalists in "Meet John Doe." Some of the other major patterns which were predominantly aligned with Type I involve the female journalist in "Absence of Malice," one of the male patterns from each of the three films "Teacher's Pet," "Absence of Malice," and "Superman IV, and both male and female descriptions of journalists from the "WIOU" TV series episodes. The more negative description of the Actual Journalist was primarily related to Type I.

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[22] The specific individual film patterns associated with each of the three types in each of the two studies are summarized in Tables 2 and 3, Appendix A.

Individual Film Patterns Related to Both TYPES I and II--Several patterns had characteristics which were shared with both Types I and II which included the male journalist descriptive patterns from "China Syndrome," "Max Headroom," "WIOU" TV series episodes, "Broadcast News," and the "Lou Grant" series episodes." The pattern for the female journalist from "Max Headroom" was also related to both types. One of the two patterns describing journalists (not sex role specific) from "All the President's Men" had similarities to both overall types. One of the two patterns for the Ideal Journalist which was less idealistically described had traits in common with both types.

TYPE II Individual Film Patterns--The most prototypic patterns associated with Type II included the student descriptions in most idealistic terms of both the Ideal and Actual Journalist and patterns from "All the President's Men" and the "Lou Grant" TV series episodes (both male and female). Another prominent pattern related to Type II was the female journalist description from "Broadcast News." Other male journalist descriptions akin to Type II included patterns from "Broadcast News," "Superman IV" and "Absence of Malice." Another female journalist pattern also similar to Type II involved one of the descriptions from "Switching Channels."

TYPE III Individual Film Patterns--The most prototypic patterns associated with Type III only involve descriptions of female journalists from the following films "China Syndrome," "Teacher's Pet," WIOU" and "Lou Grant" TV series episodes. Some of the other films which has descriptions of female journalists that were more marginally associated with Type III included "Absence of Malice," "His Girl Friday," "Switching Channels," and "Network." All patterns which had any interpretable degree of association with Type III pertained to descriptions of female journalists except for one (one of the non-sex role specific descriptions from "All the President's Men" had a small relationship). The Type III overall pattern was very sharply drawn from descriptions of female journalists from some of the films.

SECTION 4: Summary and Conclusions

The two studies reported on in this paper have shifted the emphasis of Talbott's previous inquiry into the film portrayals of journalists in movies so that the research is now sensitive to some sexism and gender issues when sex role of the journalist in film portrayals is considered. The previous studies did not reveal much insight on these issues. The three overall patterns were remarkably similar in the two studies in spite of substantially different samples of students participating in the research.

Brief summaries of the three types are as follows:

TYPE I .--The Type I pattern was strongly negative and highly critical of movie journalists. They were viewed as aggressive, self-serving, arrogant vultures willing to pounce on anybody or anything if it might yield a scoop or an exclusive. Such journalists used all kinds of questionable, unethical and sometimes illegal tactics to gather information for stories which they will slant and misuse for personal and/or corporate gain. Type I journalists sometimes resort to subterfuge, deception, misrepresentation or hidden agendas in order to get important information for assignments. They were not seen as honest and trustworthy. Type I journalists pander to morbid curiosity about vice, crime, violence, murder, and perversion in the stories they cover. In the newsroom, male Type I journalists have the positions of power and authority. Type I women shared very little power and responsibility with the men in running the newsroom. Type I journalists as portrayed in the films included both men and women journalists, but men were the most numerous.

TYPE II .--The Type II pattern was positive and strongly supportive of the film journalist and could be descriptive of the "ideal" journalist. That idealism was tempered with some realism as another major component of Type II would be descriptive of the responsible "actual" journalist. These journalists were viewed as adhering to the more traditional ethics and practices of the profession. They were described as self-starters, dedicated to the truth, want to provide accurate and complete information when possible, committed to serving the public, use ethical and responsible news gathering tactics and have strong research and investigative skills. Most often, male Type II journalists have the power and responsibility for running the newsroom. Occasionally, males shared some power with females, but not the top positions. The film portrayals most prototypic of Type II journalists were primarily men but do include some women. The kind of news person described by Type II points to working journalists who are trying to do a competent, responsible and professional job.

> **TYPE III** .--The Type III pattern involved journalists who know how to use the language and to write interesting stories. They excel in situations where journalists can identify and empathize with people. They were honest and trustworthy. Almost all of the film portrayals most associated with Type III described women journalists. Type III women journalists in the movies did not share the power and responsibility of running the newsroom with men. The men were in charge; these women journalists were not. Type III women journalists did not get their fair share of hard news or breaking stories as well as other choice kinds assignments. In addition, they were seen as having to put up with sexual harassment on the job. The Type III pattern described women journalists who face discrimination and the oppressive effects of sexism on the job and in the newsroom. In spite of this undesirable situation, these women journalists were seen as dedicated, qualified and consistently trying to do a competent and responsible job.

Types I and II derived from the two studies and described in this paper are certainly consistent with the two patterns which Talbott (1990) repeatedly found in his previous research on journalistic portrayals in forty-three films. These two patterns are also very similar to the conclusions reached in the more literary based studies and speculation cited in the literature review. When we get people to watch films and tell use what they see in the ways journalists are portrayed, the predominant view expressed was negative and critical. There were exceptions but they are not numerous. In a few films, people occasionally saw a more positive image of the journalist. These conclusions were based on a very general level of description and do not offer much insight about possible sex role differences.

What the present study contributes is some insight into some sexism and gender differences in the images people see relative to the ways male and female journalists are portrayed in some selected films. A third pattern emerges in this analysis which describes primarily what people see when they focus on describing how many of the female journalists are portrayed in juxtaposition to male journalists. This pattern invokes a number of sexism and gender issues which are very interesting. Some of these issues also underlie the Type I and Type II overall patterns found in this research. One such important and crucial issue concerns the way men and women are depicted as sharing responsibility and power in running the newsroom. In general, men are seen as not sharing the power and responsibility with women, with only a very few exceptions and then certainly not for the top positions of authority. Some of the other sexism and gender related issues coming into play when the three overall patterns are considered which help differentiate among the film images of men and woman journalists include:

- arrogance
- aggressiveness
- skepticism
- honesty and trustworthiness
- identification and empathy with people
- sexual harassment on the job
- assignment to hard news or breaking stories and other choice assignments.
- degree of autonomy in handling enterprise or investigative stories
- exclusion from being assigned some kinds of stories
- the response to stress on the job

It is in the understanding of some of the sexism and gender issues in the differential film portrayals of men and women in the newsroom where this study starts to make some contributions. For example, do we as a society want to continue to widely spread such images of men and women in the face of our efforts to promote diversity and equality in the workplace both in and out of journalism? In our own field, what kind of role models do we want to perpetuate which may affect both the way and the kind of people that are attracted to or recruited into the journalistic professions?

The paper has only scratched the surface of the potential of the present studies. There is still much to be teased out of the data. This paper should be regarded as only an initial analysis; there is much more analysis which needs to be done. Some of the research questions yet to be tackled concern the following kinds of questions. Although the overall patterns were remarkably similar across the two studies, there were some important differences in the way these overall patterns are explained by the individual film patterns associated with each of the two studies. Is this related to some important differences in the the sample composition for the two studies? How do the sexism and gender issues manifest themselves with in the specific patterns associated with individual films? What are the important differences and similaries between male and female journalist patterns for each film? How does the rich data base involving the essays student wrote relate to and support the individual patterns found for each film? How does the sex role of the student participants relate to differential patterns they use to describe their perceptions of the film portrayals of both men and women journalists? How does the analysis of the data from the "Consciousness Scale for Media Sexism" relate to the patterns used to describe journalistic portrayal of both sexes? How does the time frame and historical circumstances of the production distribution of the films relate to both the individual film patterns as well as the overall patterns that have been found?

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1

LIST OF 11 FEATURE FILMS AND TV SERIES ESPISODES PORTRAYING JOURNALISTS AND THE OTHER FIVE DESCRIPTIONS OF JOURNALISTS INCLUDEDIN THE TWO STUDIES INVOLVING STUDENT PERCEPTIONS DURING SPRING AND SUMMER 1991

THE FILMS WHICH WERE INCLUDED IN EACH STUDY			
Spring 91 STUDY 1	Summer 91 STUDY 2	FILM NO.	FILM TITLE (date)
1	2	01	His Girl Friday (1940)
1	---	02	Meet John Doe (1941)
1	2	03	Teacher's Pet (1958)
1	2	04	Network (1976)
1	2	05	China Syndrome (1979)
1	2	06	Absence of Malice (1981)
1	2	07	Max Headroom (1985)
1	2	08	Broadcast News (1987)
1	---	09	Superman IV: The Quest for Peace (1987)
1	2	10	Switching Channels (1988)
1	2	11	WIOU TV Series Episodes (1990-91)
1	2	12	Ideal Journalist Beginning of Semester
1	2	13	Lou Grant TV Series Episodes (1977-82)
1	2	14	All the President's Men (1976)
1	2	15	Actual Journalist
1	2	16	Ideal Journalist End of Semester

Number of Students Participating in Each Study

STUDY	DATE	NO. OF FILMS	NO. OF STUDENTS
1	Spring 1991	11 + 5	25
2	Summer 1991	09 + 5	10

Table 1 ADDENDUM

Synopses of The Eleven Films Used

His Girl Friday (1940).--Second of the four film sequels of the 1928 stage play, "The Front Page." A tough and unscrupulous managing editor of a newspaper and his ex-wife reporter who was talented and respected got caught up in a big story and ended up using some less than desirable tactics (including hiding a fugitive from authorities) to get the scoop and beat the competition. Her super-involvement in the hot news story broke up her pending marriage to a non-journalist. She rekindled the relationship with her ex-husband. The aggressive and arrogant other journalists (all male) in this film used all kinds of questionable and unethical tactics (sometimes illegal) in gathering and reporting the news. The play upon which this film was based was one of the earliest dramatic vehicles which met with audience acceptance which portrayed journalists in a largely negative and stereotyped way.

Meet John Doe (1941).--In desperation when she was fired, a woman newspaper columnist fabricated a letter from a fictitious John Doe that sparked a lot of popular interest and activity. She and her male editor with the complicity of the newspaper's male publisher end up having to create their own John Doe. The woman journalist saved her job and increased her financial reward, the newspaper increased its circulation and the publisher traded on the situation in an attempt to further his political aspirations. One of Frank Capra's odes to the common man.

Teacher's Pet (1958).--An attractive, young female journalism college teacher asked the hard boiled male editor of the local paper to make a guest appearance in one of her classes. He rudely refused the offer and was ordered by his publisher to apologize. Instead, he ended up enrolled in her class under an assumed identity. This set the stage for many conflicts. A number of journalistic issues were involved in the interplay of the professional and personal lives of the characters.

Network (1976).--Writer Paddy Chayefsky's savage satire of the behind-the-scenes look at the tyrants (all male except one) of television and what they are doing to the network journalism with their obsessive preoccupation with ratings and turning a profit. Nothing was sacred; anything and everything including people must be exploited for maximum economic return. The new TV news become a parody of the old TV news as the once untouchable and independent network news division (headed by a male) became a part of the programming division (headed by a female) just like any soap opera. When no longer profitable (e.g., low ratings), all things including people were disposable.

The China Syndrome (1979).--An attractive female TV reporter who specialized in human interest and fluff stories inadvertently uncovers an incident in a nuclear power plant which nearly causes a meltdown of the reactor. Her male cameraman captured the event on film, but the station will not use it. The plant's corporate heads staunchly denied any real danger. However, a plant engineer uncovered faulty equipment in the plant due to improper welding inspection procedures during construction. He tried to get the information aired with the help of the female reporter, but the corporation ruthlessly stopped him and tried to prevent the story from getting out.

APPENDIX A (continued)

Table 1 ADDENDUM (continued)

Synopses of The Eleven Films Used

Absence of Malice (1981).--A Miami businessman found himself self maligned and "convicted" in the pages of the daily newspapers that seriously damages his business as well as future prospects. He allegedly was under investigation by the federal government in connection with the murder of a labor leader. He tried to seek remedies but no one will listen to him. He confronted the attractive young woman reporter who wrote the stories which have created havoc in his personal and business lives. After one story which involved disclosure an abortion, one of his close family friends got so disturbed that she commits suicide. Finally, after getting no satisfaction for his grievances, he sought his own revenge by also using the press. A study of the power of the press in people's lives.

Max Headroom (1985).--Set in the near future, television was the major growth industry in the society and the scene of unrelenting ratings battles in order to capture the advertising revenue. Management was depicted as very cynical and manipulative and will do anything for the almighty dollar including mugging, mayhem and murder. Reporters in the field were linked to electronic controllers in the newsroom through highly complicated and versatile computer and communication technology. The ace male TV reporter and his beautiful and brilliant female newsroom controller got wind of a big story involving their own network. It seemed that the network's new advertising delivery technique still has some devastating side-effects on some viewers. Network officials ruthlessly tried to stop their own reporter. In the process, Max Headroom was created, a computer simulation of the reporter which still has some quirks in his program.

Broadcast News (1987).--Set in the Washington News Bureau of one of the major TV networks. Main characters included a male anchor with smooth charm, handsome good looks and polished delivery but had very little intellectual preparation and depth, a female producer who was a gifted and talented organizer and was battling the trend toward glitz over substance in the news, and a brilliant and dedicated male field reporter with the traditional sense of ethics and professional responsibility but whose on-camera persona was limited. The film centered around the conflicts and problems as the personal and professional lives of these three journalists including other colleagues intertwine in the ebb and flow of events including a network down-sizing which resulted in a large number of layoffs. A number of professional issues were raised in the film concerning journalism practice and the role of media in society.

Superman IV: The Quest for Peace (1987).--Fourth film in the continuing adventures of Lois Lane, Clark Kent and Superman in and out of the newsroom of the Daily Planet. Superman was on the path of promoting nuclear disarmament while fighting his archenemy, the archvillain Lex Luthor whose goal was to make the planet safe for nuclear arms merchants. The Daily Planet was the victim of a hostile takeover by parties only interested in profit who want to destroy the journalistic integrity of the newspaper by converting it into a supermarket tabloid. Perry White, the longstanding editor was ousted. The publisher was replaced by the new owner's beautiful daughter who initially shared her father's values. Eventually the new publisher came to her senses and with the help of Clark and Lois, they rescued the Daily Planet from the clutches of the evil financiers and restored Perry White to the editorship.

APPENDIX A (continued)

Table 1 ADDENDUM (continued)

Synopses of The Eleven Films Used

Switching Channels (1988)--Fourth of the four film sequels of the 1928 stage play, "The Front Page." Patterned closely after "His Girl Friday," it is set in the newsroom of a contemporary cable TV news service (such as CNN) rather than a newspaper. A tough and unscrupulous TV news director and his ex-wife reporter who was talented and respected got caught up in a big story and ended up using some less than desirable tactics (including hiding a fugitive from authorities) to get the scoop and beat the competition. Her super involvement in the hot story broke up her pending marriage to a non-journalist. She rekindled the relationship to her ex-husband. The aggressive and arrogant other journalists (mostly male) in this film use all kinds of questionable and unethical tactics (sometimes illegal) in gathering and reporting the news.

WIOU TV Series Episodes (1990)--The first two sixty minute episodes of the TV series which debuted in the 1990 fall season which was set in the newsroom of an unprofitable TV station in a large metropolitan community in Florida. Management has just hired a new male news director overlooking the current long experienced assistant news director who happens to be a woman. A new female anchor was hired after an on-the-air blatant sexual harassment incident by the existing lecherous, middle-aged male anchor during her trial period as anchor. The staff was fairly equally divided between males and females. The episodes centered around the conflicts and problems as the personal and professional lives of the journalists in the newsroom as they intertwine in the ebb and flow of events directed at trying to get the station back on a profitable basis. A number of professional issues including sexism and gender matters were raised in the episodes concerning journalism and the role of media in society

APPENDIX A (continued)

TABLE 2

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE INDIVIDUAL FILM PATTERNS
TABLE OF FACTOR LOADINGS (ordered by major type)
FOR FILMS USED SPRING 1991

LN NO	INDIVIDUAL FILM FACTORS	FACTOR % VARIANCE	TYPE I	TYPE II	TYPE III	h^2
--	TYPE I PROTOTYPES	---	----	----	----	---
01	F04 NETWORK FEMALE One Type N=24	62%	.97	-.07	-.04	.94
02	F10 SWITCHING CHANNELS MALE One Type N=24	59%	.96	.07	-.15	.95
03	F01 HIS GIRL FRIDAY MALE One Type N=24	60%	.94	.06	-.24	.94
04	F04 NETWORK MALE One Type N=24	51%	.93	.04	.00	.87
05	F02 MEET JOHN DOE MALE One Type N=24	49%	.92	-.01	-.20	.89
06	F06 ABSENCE OF MALICE FEMALE One Type N=24	57%	.91	-.02	.12	.84
07	F03 TEACHERS PET MALE Type 1 N=14/24	30%	.88	.06	-.09	.79
08	F09 BROADCAST NEWS MALE Type 1 N=16/24	32%	.87	.17	.08	.79
09	F10 SWITCHING CHANNELS FEMALE Type 1 N=18/24	43%	.86	.17	.31	.86
10	F11 WIOU TV SERIES FEMALE Type 2 N=8/24	22%	.86	-.05	.34	.86
11	F11 WIOU TV SERIES MALE Type 2 N=10/24	23%	.85	-.18	.02	.76
12	F15 ACTUAL JOURNALIST Type 1 N=14/24	31%	.85	.31	.15	.85
13	F01 HIS GIRL FRIDAY FEMALE One Type N=24	49%	.84	.16	.28	.81
14	F02 MEET JOHN DOE FEMALE One Type N=24	54%	.80	-.23	.39	.85
15	F14 ALL THE PRESIDENTS MEN Type 1 N=14/26	32%	.77	.12	.16	.64
16	F06 ABSENCE OF MALICE MALE One Type N=24	40%	.76	.36	-.32	.80
17	F08 SUPERMAN IV MALE Type 2 N=10/24	23%	.66	.31	.29	.61
--	TYPE I PRIMARY; TYPE II SECONDARY	---	----	----	----	---
18	F05 CHINA SYNDROME MALE One Type N=23	41%	.83	.41	-.22	.90
19	F07 MAX HEADROOM MALE One Type N=24	48%	.79	.52	-.09	.92
--	NEARLY EQUAL ASSOCIATION TYPES I & II	---	----	----	----	---
20	F07 MAX HEADROOM FEMALE One Type N=24	37%	.66	.56	.14	.77
21	F08 SUPERMAN IV FEMALE One Type N=24	42%	.66	.57	.27	.83
22	F16 IDEAL JOURNALIST #2 Type 2 N=12/24	23%	.67	.62	.13	.84
23	F12 IDEAL JOURNALIST #1 Type 2 N=13/26	25%	.53	.53	.18	.59
24	F11 WIOU TV SERIES MALE Type 1 N=14/24	33%	.63	.65	-.17	.84
--	TYPE II PRIMARY; TYPE I SECONDARY	---	----	----	----	---
25	F13 LOU GRANT TV SERIES MALE One Type N=26	45%	.55	.72	-.23	.88

APPENDIX A (continued)

TABLE 2 (continued)

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE INDIVIDUAL FILM PATTERNS
TABLE OF FACTOR LOADINGS (ordered by major type)
FOR FILMS USED SPRING 1991

LN NO	INDIVIDUAL FILM FACTORS	FACTOR % VARIANCE	TYPE I	TYPE II	TYPE III	h^2
--	TYPE II PROTOTYPES	---	----	----	----	---
26	F09 BROADCAST NEWS FEMALE One Type N=24	54%	.39	.82	.15	.85
27	F12 IDEAL JOURNALIST #1 Type 1 N=13/26	30%	-.39	.83	.04	.84
28	F03 TEACHERS PET MALE Type 2 N=10/24	25%	.35	.82	-.27	.86
29	F10 SWITCHING CHANNELS FEMALE Type 2 N=6/24	22%	.19	.71	.32	.64
30	F09 BROADCAST NEWS MALE TYPE 2 N=8/24	21%	.22	.75	.14	.64
31	F08 SUPERMAN IV MALE Type 1 N=14/24	25%	-.19	.83	.16	.74
32	F13 LOU GRANT TV SERIES FEMALE TYPE 2 N=11/26	18%	.18	.84	.17	.77
33	F14 ALL THE PRESIDENTS MEN Type 2 N=12/26	24%	.13	.85	-.00	.74
34	F16 IDEAL JOURNALIST #2 Type 1 N=12/24	37%	-.30	.91	-.06	.91
35	F15 ACTUAL JOURNALIST Type 2 N=9/24	23%	-.04	.94	-.04	.89
--	TYPE II PRIMARY; TYPE III SECONDARY	---	----	----	----	---
36	F11 WIOU TV SERIES FEMALE Type 1 N=16/24	28%	.16	.68	.40	.65
--	TYPE III PRIMARY; TYPES I-II SECONDARY	---	----	----	----	---
37	F03 TEACHERS PET FEMALE Type 2 N=11/24	22%	-.46	.50	.59	.81
--	TYPE III PROTOTYPES AND REPRESENTATIVES	---	----	----	----	---
38	F13 LOU GRANT TV SERIES FEMALE TYPE 1 N=15/26	22%	-.42	.24	.75	.80
39	F03 TEACHERS PET FEMALE Type 1 N=13/24	24%	.34	.27	.72	.71
40	F05 CHINA SYNDROME FEMALE One Type N=23	44%	.24	.02	.86	.79
41	Percent of Variance Accounted for----		44%	27%	9%	81%

Correlations Among Factor Score Patterns or Types

Correlation between TYPE I and TYPE II Journalists:	.16
Correlation between TYPE I and TYPE III Journalists:	.04
Correlation between TYPE II and TYPE III Journalists:	.25
Correlation between F03 TEACHERS PET FEMALE Types:	.35
Correlation between F03 TEACHERS PET MALE Types:	.43
Correlation between F08 SUPERMAN IV MALE Types:	.37
Correlation between F09 BROADCAST NEWS MALE Types:	.44
Correlation between F10 SWITCHING CHANNELS FEMALE Types:	.34
Correlation between F11 WIOU TV SERIES FEMALE Types:	.27
Correlation between F11 WIOU TV SERIES MALE Types:	.40
Correlation between F12 IDEAL JOURNALIST #1 Types:	.33
Correlation between F13 LOU GRANT TV SERIES FEMALE Types:	.27
Correlation between F14 ALL THE PRESIDENTS MEN Types:	.38
Correlation between F15 ACTUAL JOURNALIST Types:	.27
Correlation between F16 IDEAL JOURNALIST #2 Types:	.35

APPENDIX A (continued)

TABLE 3

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE INDIVIDUAL FILM PATTERNS
TABLE OF FACTOR LOADINGS (ordered by type)
FOR FILMS USED SUMMER 1991

LN NO	INDIVIDUAL FILM FACTORS	FACTOR % VARIANCE	TYPE I	TYPE II	TYPE III	h^2
--	TYPE I PROTOTYPES AND REPRESENTATIVES	---	----	----	----	---
01	F04 NETWORK FEMALE Type 1 N=8/10	50%	.94	.06	.11	.90
02	F10 SWITCHING CHANNELS MALE One Type N=10	57%	.94	.19	-.08	.93
03	F01 HIS GIRL FRIDAY MALE One Type N=10	62%	.93	.19	-.17	.93
04	F04 NETWORK MALE Type 1 N=5/10	35%	.85	.07	.13	.74
05	F06 ABSENCE OF MALICE FEMALE Type 2 N=5/10	27%	.83	-.21	-.04	.74
06	F09 BROADCAST NEWS MALE TYPE 2 N=3/10	22%	.43	-.01	.16	.21
--	TYPE I PRIMARY; TYPE II SECONDARY	---	----	----	----	---
07	F11 WIOU TV SERIES MALE One Type N=10	55%	.78	.48	.12	.85
--	TYPE I PRIMARY; TYPES II-III SECONDARY	---	----	----	----	---
08	F10 SWITCHING CHANNELS FEMALE One Type N=10	53%	.68	.43	.44	.84
--	TYPE I PRIMARY; TYPE III SECONDARY	---	----	----	----	---
09	F14 ALL THE PRESIDENTS MEN Type 2 N=5/10	25%	.57	.38	.44	.67
--	NEARLY EQUAL ASSOCIATION TYPES I & II	---	----	----	----	---
10	F07 MAX HEADROOM MALE One Type N=10	50%	.64	.65	.17	86
11	F13 LOU GRANT TV SERIES MALE Type 1 N=7/10	32%	.61	.59	.30	.80
12	F15 ACTUAL JOURNALIST One Type N=10	43%	.60	.64	.29	.85
13	F03 TEACHERS PET MALE One Type N=10	52%	.58	.63	.08	.73
--	TYPE II PRIMARY; TYPE I SECONDARY	---	----	----	----	---
14	F07 MAX HEADROOM FEMALE One Type N=10	37%	.52	.65	.29	.78
15	F05 CHINA SYNDROME MALE One Type N=10	45%	.50	.69	.13	.74
16	F09 BROADCAST NEWS MALE Type 1 N=7/10	39%	.47	.68	.16	.71
17	F12 IDEAL JOURNALIST #1 Type 1 N=6/10	33%	-.50	.75	.02	.81
--	TYPE II PROTOTYPES AND REPRESENTATIVES	---	----	----	----	---
18	F12 IDEAL JOURNALIST #1 Type 2 N=4/10	18%	.29	.53	.24	.41
19	F04 NETWORK MALE Type 2 N=5/10	26%	.31	.74	.26	.71
20	F09 BROADCAST NEWS FEMALE One Type N=9	59%	.19	.75	.36	.73
21	F06 ABSENCE OF MALICE MALE One Type N=10	45%	.34	.79	-.03	.75
22	F14 ALL THE PRESIDENTS MEN Type 1 N=5/10	31%	.02	.82	.11	.69
23	F13 LOU GRANT TV SERIES MALE Type 2 N=3/10	23%	- 06	.85	-.12	.74
24	F16 IDEAL JOURNALIST #2 One Type N=10	60%	-.31	.88	.09	.88

APPENDIX A (continued)

TABLE 3 (continued)

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE INDIVIDUAL FILM PATTERNS
TABLE OF FACTOR LOADINGS (ordered by type)
FOR FILMS USED SUMMER 1991

LN NO	INDIVIDUAL FILM FACTORS	FACTOR % VARIANCE	TYPE I	TYPE II	TYPE III	h^2
--	NEARLY EQUAL ASSOCIATION TYPES III-II-I	---	----	----	----	---
25	F06 ABSENCE OF MALICE FEMALE Type 1 N=5/10	32%	.45	.40	.47	59
26	F01 HIS GIRL FRIDAY FEMALE Type 1 N=6/10	30%	.48	.53	.44	.70
--	NEARLY EQUAL ASSOCIATION TYPES III & II	---	----	----	----	---
27	F13 LOU GRANT TV SERIES FEMALE Type 1 N=6/10	28%	-.31	.44	.49	.54
--	TYPE III PRIMARY; TYPE I SECONDARY	---	----	----	----	---
28	F01 HIS GIRL FRIDAY FEMALE Type 2 N=4/10	28%	.44	-.14	.58	.55
--	TYPE III PRIMARY; TYPE II SECONDARY	---	----	----	----	---
29	F11 WIOU TV SERIES FEMALE Type 2 N=4/10	27%	.15	.42	.72	.72
30	F03 TEACHERS PET FEMALE Type 1 N=8/10	40%	-.29	.42	.74	.81
31	F04 NETWORK FEMALE Type 2 N=2/10	16%	-.09	.40	.74	.72
--	TYPE III PROTOTYPES AND REPRESENTATIVES	---	----	----	----	---
32	F11 WIOU TV SERIES FEMALE Type 1 N=6/10	30%	.25	.11	.53	.36
33	F03 TEACHERS PET FEMALE Type 2 N=2/10	15%	.03	-.11	.54	.30
34	F05 CHINA SYNDROME FEMALE Type 2 N=3/10	23%	.19	.23	.57	.41
35	F13 LOU GRANT TV SERIES FEMALE Type 2 N=4/10	20%	.10	.23	.62	.45
36	F05 CHINA SYNDROME FEMALE Type 1 N=7/10	39%	-.06	-.15	.84	.72
37	Percent of Variance Accounted for----		26%	27%	16%	69%

Correlations Among Factor Score Patterns or Types

Correlation between TYPE I and TYPE II Journalists:	.14
Correlation between TYPE I and TYPE III Journalists:	.07
Correlation between TYPE II and TYPE III Journalists:	.13
Correlation between F01 HIS GIRL FRIDAY FEMALE Types:	.46
Correlation between F03 TEACHERS PET FEMALE Types:	.32
Correlation between F04 NETWORK FEMALE Types:	.02
Correlation between F04 NETWORK MALE Types:	.34
Correlation between F06 ABSENCE OF MALICE FEMALE Types:	.40
Correlation between F07 MAX HEADROOM FEMALE Types:	.29
Correlation between F09 BROADCAST NEWS MALE Types:	.24
Correlation between F11 WIOU TV SERIES FEMALE Types:	.43
Correlation between F12 IDEAL JOURNALIST #1 Types:	.26
Correlation between F13 LOU GRANT TV SERIES FEMALE Types:	.15
Correlation between F13 LOU GRANT TV SERIES MALE Types:	.36
Correlation between F14 ALL THE PRESIDENTS MEN Types:	.33

APPENDIX A (continued)

TABLE 4

TABLE OF FACTOR LOADINGS FOR THE COMBINED FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE THREE OVERALL TYPES FROM EACH OF THE TWO STUDIES CONDUCTED DURING SPRING AND SUMMER 1991

LN NO	INDIVIDUAL FILM FACTORS	FACTOR % VARIANCE	TYPE I	TYPE II	TYPE III	h^2
01	TYPE I Spring 1991 Critical Pattern	44%	.97	.16	.09	.98
02	TYPE II Spring 1991 Supportive Pattern	27%	.00	.97	.16	.97
03	TYPE III Spring 1991 Sexist Pattern	9%	- 06	.10	.97	.95
04	TYPE I Summer 1991 Critical Pattern	26%	.99	-.02	-.04	.98
05	TYPE II Summer 1991 Supportive Pattern	27%	.17	.97	.06	.97
06	TYPE III Summer 1991 Sexist Pattern	16%	.11	.07	.97	.95
07	Percent of Variance Accounted for----		33%	32%	32%	97%

Correlations Among Factor Score Patterns or Types

Correlation between Type I and Type II Patterns:	.02
Correlation between Type I and Type III Patterns:	.20
Correlation between Type II and Type III Patterns:	.11

Correlations Among the Factor Score Patterns Comparing Each of the Three Types Obtained in both the Spring and Summer 1991 Studies

Correlation between Type I Patterns for Spring and Summer 1991:	.94
Correlation between Type II Patterns for Spring and Summer 1991:	.92
Correlation between Type III Patterns for Spring and Summer 1991:	.88

APPENDIX A (continued)

TABLE 5

TABLE OF FACTOR SCORES FOR TYPES I, II AND III OVERALL PERCEPTION PATTERNS OF BOTH MEN AND WOMEN JOURNALISTS WHICH REFLECT SEXISM AND GENDER ISSUES FOR THE COMPOSITE THIRD ORDER FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR ARRAYS FROM BOTH OF THE SPRING AND SUMNMER 1991 STUDIES

(in order by questionnaire item number)

ITEM NOS.	JOURNALIST ROLE DESCRIPTION QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS	TYPE I Z-SCORE	TYPE II Z-SCORE	TYPE III Z-SCORE
01.	A journalist checks, double checks, and then double checks again; verification is all important.	-1.2	1.1	0.7
02.	Journalists do not include in their stories unofficial charges affecting the reputation or moral character of a person without giving the accused a chance to reply.	-1.4	0.5	0.2
03.	Journalists often help create the news they cover.	1.3	-1.1	0.2
04.	Journalists are very interested in getting the story in print or on the air first, to have an exclusive scoop.	1.4	1.1	1.1
05.	Journalists are often not given autonomy in handling enterprise or investigative stories.	-0.6	-1.5	0.8
06.	Journalists do not pander to morbid curiosity about vice, crime, violence, murder, perversion, etc. in the stories they cover.	-1.7	-0.4	0.0
07.	Aggressiveness is a key trait of the journalist.	1.3	1.2	0.4
08.	Journalists do things they do not really want to do in the interests of getting a story or certain facts.	0.3	-0.3	0.2
09.	Journalists rarely use physical or sexual intimacy with a source to help get the story or important information.	-0.4	0.2	-0.7
10.	Journalists show diligence, perseverance and persistence in everything they do in their professional lives.	0.7	1.1	1.4
11.	A journalist's romantic liaisons are always outside the newsroom and the gathering of news.	-1.7	-0.8	-1.4
12.	There are some kinds of assignments in which journalists generally excel.	0.9	0.2	0.4
13.	A journalist may suppress a story or facts if it causes embarrassment or harm to innocent people.	-1.3	-1.0	-0.8
14.	Journalists conduct their personal lives in a manner which protects them from conflicts of interest, either real or apparent.	-1.5	-0.3	-1.4
15.	Journalists are only human; they "lose it" once in awhile considering all of the stress they have to put up with.	0.6	-0.3	1.0
16.	A journalist.sometimes has to resort to "subterfuge," "deception," "misrepresentation," or "hidden agendas" in order to get important information for an assignment.	1.0	-1.4	-1.1
17.	Journalists make clear distinctions between news reports and expressions of opinion.	-1.1	0.4	-0.2

APPENDIX A (continued)

TABLE 5 (continued)

TABLE OF FACTOR SCORES FOR TYPES I, II AND III OVERALL PERCEPTION PATTERNS OF BOTH MEN AND WOMEN JOURNALISTS WHICH REFLECT SEXISM AND GENDER ISSUES FOR THE COMPOSITE THIRD ORDER FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR ARRAYS FROM BOTH OF THE SPRING AND SUMNMER 1991 STUDIES

(in order by questionnaire item number)

ITEM NOS.	JOURNALIST ROLE DESCRIPTION QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS	TYPE I Z-SCORE	TYPE II Z-SCORE	TYPE III Z-SCORE
18.	Journalists sometimes resort to "checkbook journalism" and buy important information or stories that would not be available in any other way.	0.4	-2.1	-1.6
19.	Excellent coverage often comes out of situations where journalists identify and empathize with the people involved.	0.1	0.4	1.5
20.	Journalists are honest and trustworthy.	-1.5	1.0	1.6
21.	Journalists report on things the way they are and do not add their own interpretations.	-1.6	0.3	-0.1
22.	There are some.kinds of assignments which journalists just to not get.	-0.7	-1.3	0.8
23.	A journalist knows how use the language and to write interesting stories.	0.2	1.1	1.5
24.	In the newsroom and in the gathering of the news, the journalist is generally respected by colleagues.	0.2	1.1	-0.5
25.	A journalist knows how to be diplomatic with people.	-0.2	0.7	0.8
26.	Journalists use their physical attractiveness or sex appeal to get what they want.	0.5	-1.5	0.2
27.	Journalists show respect for the dignity, privacy, rights and well-being of the people encountered in the course of gathering and presenting the news.	-1.6	0.2	0.6
28.	Journalists sometimes develop intense personal relationships with some of the journalists they work more closely with in the conduct of their professional lives.	1.4	0.1	0.9
29.	Journalists have positions of power and authority in the newsroom (e.g., editors, managers, directors, supervisors, etc.).	1.3	1.3	-2.3
30.	Journalists use flirting, small talk or flattery to get what they want with colleagues or sources.	0.9	-0.8	-0.2
31.	In the relationships of journalists with most other journalists, there is often a strong competitive streak.	1.4	0.6	1.0
32.	A journalist is prepared to go to any length to get the story.	1.2	0.6	0.6
33.	Journalists keep calm, cool and collected in threatening, stressful, or violent situations.	-0.3	0.6	-0.6
34.	Journalists are dedicated to their work; everything else takes a back seat including family, friends and social activities.	1.1	-0.3	0.3
35.	A journalist is generally a skeptical person.	0.5	0.5	-0.3

APPENDIX A (continued)

TABLE 5 (continued)

TABLE OF FACTOR SCORES FOR TYPES I, II AND III OVERALL PERCEPTION PATTERNS OF BOTH MEN AND WOMEN JOURNALISTS WHICH REFLECT SEXISM AND GENDER ISSUES FOR THE COMPOSITE THIRD ORDER FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR ARRAYS FROM BOTH OF THE SPRING AND SUMNMER 1991 STUDIES

(in order by questionnaire item number)

ITEM NOS.	JOURNALIST ROLE DESCRIPTION QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS	TYPE I Z-SCORE	TYPE II Z-SCORE	TYPE III Z-SCORE
36.	On the job, a journalist has to put up with sexual harassment.	-0.6	-2.3	0.8
37.	When reporting on an event, a journalist takes an impersonal and deliberate detachment.	-1.1	0.2	-1.2
38.	Journalists use unidentified sources or anonymous tips so that important information can be used in reporting the news.	0.5	-0.2	-0.1
39.	Journalists display more than an average amount of arrogance.	1.2	-0.3	-1.0
40.	Journalists cover their fair share of hard news or breaking stories.	0.8	0.9	-2.0
41.	A journalist is skilled at research and investigation, at fact finding in general.	-0.3	1.2	0.5
42.	Journalists often do not have the appropriate background and experience for the positions they hold in the newsroom.	-0.1	-2.3	-1.3
43.	Journalists think quickly on their feet and make sound decisions.	0.1	0.9	0.4
44.	Journalists get their fair share of choice assignments.	0.6	0.7	-1.8

Correlations Among Types I, II & III

Correlation between Type I and Type II Patterns:	.02
Correlation between Type I and Type III Patterns:	.20
Correlation between Type II and Type III Patterns:	.11

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE INSTRUCTIONS FROM GENERIC VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE
(ITEMS NOT SEX ROLE SPECIFIC)

School of Journalism
and Mass Communication

The University of Iowa
Instructor: A. D. Talbott
Summer 1991

19:153/203 Popular Culture and Communication

JOURNALIST ROLE PERCEPTION QUESTIONNAIRE

STUDENT NAME________________________________ DATE __________________

DESCRIPTION OF THE IDEAL JOURNALIST

This questionnaire is designed to look into the patterns of perception people have of the IDEAL JOURNALIST as he or she should function in serving society.. You can express your views by indicating the degree of agreement you have with the series of statements which describe various aspects of the ideal role of the journalist. Before you start, please reflect upon the ways you feel ideal journalists ought to function in carrying out their responsibilities in society. What should they do? What should they not do? What issues are important both in positive and negative ways? It is your own perceptions of the ideal journalistwhich are important!

If you agree very strongly that a statement is an important aspect of the way the ideal journalist ought to be, give that item a score of "+5" by checking the appropriate box (the extreme right-hand box):

Disagree											X	**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

On the other hand, if you disagree very strongly that a statement is an important aspect of the way the ideal journalist ought to be, give that item a score of "-5" by checking the appropriate box (the extreme left-hand box):

Disagree	X											**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

If you agree with some aspects of a statement and disagree with other aspects, so that your overall evaluation of the item is ambiguous in regard to the way the ideal journalist ought or ought not to be, give that item the middle score of "0." Also, if a particular statement is not among the important aspects of the way the ideal journalist ought or ought not to be,you should check "0" for that statement (the center box):

Disagree						X						**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

Items that you might disagree with a littlewould be given a score of "-1." Those that you might agree with a littlewould be given a score of "+1." And so forth.

Keep in mind that you should reserve the extreme scores ("-5" and "+5") for only those statements that you feel very strongly about. You'll probably find yourself using each of the extreme positions only a few times. There will probably be a good many more statements that you will agree or disagree with by using the more central scoring positions.

SAMPLE INSTRUCTIONS FROM GENERIC VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE
(ITEMS NOT SEX ROLE SPECIFIC)

School of Journalism
and Mass Communication

The University of Iowa
Instructor: A. D. Talbott
Summer 1991

19:153/203 Popular Culture and Communication

JOURNALIST ROLE PERCEPTION QUESTIONNAIRE

STUDENT NAME________________________________ DATE ___________________

FILM NAME: **ALL THE PRESIDENT'S MEN**

This questionnaire is designed to look into the patterns of perception people have of the way the role of journalist is portrayed in feature films. You can express your views by indicating the degree of agreement you have with the series of statements which describe various aspects of the role of journalist. Before you start, please reflect upon the way the role of journalist was portrayed in the film. What issues where important both in a positive and negative way? What issues were not dealt with? It is your perceptions of the actual way the role of journalist was portrayed in the film which are important!

If you agree very strongly that a statement is an important aspect of the way the role of journalist was portrayed in the film, give that item a score of "+5" by checking the appropriate box (the extreme right-hand box):

Disagree											X	**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

On the other hand, if you disagree very strongly that a statement is an important aspect of the way the role of journalist was portrayed in the film, give that item a score of "-5" by checking the appropriate box (the extreme left-hand box):

Disagree	X											**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

If you agree with some aspects of a statement and disagree with other aspects, so that your overall evaluation of the item is ambiguous in regard to the way the role of journalist was portrayed in the film, give that item the middle score of "0." Also, if a particular statement is not among the important aspects of the way the role of journalist was portrayed in the film you should check "0" for that statement (the center box):

Disagree						X						**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

Items that you might disagree with a little would be given a score of "-1." Those that you might agree with a little would be given a score of "+1." And so forth.

Keep in mind that you should reserve the extreme scores ("-5" and "+5") for only those statements that you feel very strongly about. You'll probably find yourself using each of the extreme positions only a few times. There will probably be a good many more statements that you will agree or disagree with by using the more central scoring positions.

SAMPLE INSTRUCTIONS FROM GENERIC VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE (ITEMS NOT SEX ROLE SPECIFIC)

School of Journalism
and Mass Communication

The University of Iowa
Instructor: A. D. Talbott
Summer 1991

19:153/203 Popular Culture and Communication

JOURNALIST ROLE PERCEPTION QUESTIONNAIRE

STUDENT NAME_______________________________ DATE __________________

DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTUAL JOURNALIST

This questionnaire is designed to look into the patterns of perception people have of the ACTUAL JOURNALIST as he or she functions in serving contemporary society.. You can express your views by indicating the degree of agreement you have with the series of statements which describe various aspects of the actual role of today's practicing journalist. Before you start, please reflect upon the ways you feel journalists actually function in carrying out their responsibilities in society. What do typical practicing journalists actually do? What do they not do? What issues are important both in positive and negative ways when considering actual journalistic practice? It is your own perceptions of the actual journalist which are important!

If you agree very strongly that a statement is an important aspect of the way the actual journalist performs, give that item a score of "+5" by checking the appropriate box (the extreme right-hand box):

Disagree											X	**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

On the other hand, if you disagree very strongly that a statement is an important aspect of the way the actual journalist performs, give that item a score of "-5" by checking the appropriate box (the extreme left-hand box):

Disagree	X											**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

If you agree with some aspects of a statement and disagree with other aspects, so that your overall evaluation of the item is ambiguous with regard to the the performance of the actual journalist , give that item the middle score of "0." Also, if a particular statement is not among the important aspects of the performance of the actual journalist you should check "0" for that statement (the center box):

Disagree						X						**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

Items that you might disagree with a little would be given a score of "-1." Those that you might agree with a little would be given a score of "+1." And so forth.

Keep in mind that you should reserve the extreme scores ("-5" and "+5") for only those statements that you feel very strongly about. You'll probably find yourself using each of the extreme positions only a few times. There will probably be a good many more statements that you will agree or disagree with by using the more central scoring positions.

APPENDIX B (continued)

SAMPLE ITEM PAGE FROM GENERIC VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE
(ITEMS NOT SEX ROLE SPECIFIC)

JOURNALIST ROLE PERCEPTION QUESTIONNAIRE

01. A journalist checks, double checks, and then double checks again; verification is all important.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

02. Journalists do not include in their stories unofficial charges affecting the reputation or moral character of a person without giving the accused a chance to reply.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

03. Journalists often help create the news they cover.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

04. Journalists are very interested in getting the story in print or on the air first, to have an exclusive scoop.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

05. Journalists are often not given autonomy in handling enterprise or investigative stories.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

06. Journalists do not pander to morbid curiosity about vice, crime, violence, murder, perversion, etc. in the stories they cover.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

07. Aggressiveness is a key trait of the journalist.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

08. Journalists do things they do not really want to do in the interests of getting a story or certain facts.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

09. Journalists rarely use physical or sexual intimacy with a source to help get the story or important information.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

10. Journalists show diligence, perseverance and persistence in everything they do in their professional lives.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

APPENDIX C (continued)

SAMPLE ITEM PAGE FROM SEX ROLE SPECIFIC VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE
(ITEMS ARE SEX ROLE SPECIFIC: FEMALE)

SECTION F : DESCRIPTION OF THE FEMALE JOURNALIST

This section of the questionnaire is designed to look into the patterns of perception people have of the way the role of FEMALE JOURNALIST is portrayed in feature films. You can express your views by indicating the degree of agreement you have with the series of statements which describe various aspects of the role of female journalist. Before you start, please reflect upon the way the role of female journalist was portrayed in the film. What issues where important both in a positive and negative way? What issues were not dealt with? It is your perceptions of the actual waythe role of FEMALE JOURNALIST was portrayed in the film which are important!

01. A female journalist checks, double checks, and then double checks again; verification is all important.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

02. Female journalists do not include in their stories unofficial charges affecting the reputation or moral character of a person without giving the accused a chance to reply.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

03. Female journalists often help create the news they cover.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

04. Female journalists are very interested in getting the story in print or on the air first, to have an exclusive scoop.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

05. Female journalists are often not given autonomy in handling enterprise or investigative stories.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

06. Female journalists do not pander to morbid curiosity about vice, crime, violence, murder, perversion, etc. in the stories they cover.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

07. Aggressiveness is a key trait of the female journalist.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

08. Female journalists do things they do not really want to do in the interests of getting a story or certain facts.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

09. Female journalists rarely use physical or sexual intimacy with a source to help get the story or important information.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE INSTRUCTIONS FROM SEX ROLE SPECIFIC VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE (ITEMS ARE SEX ROLE SPECIFIC)

School of Journalism
and Mass Communication

The University of Iowa
Instructor: A. D. Talbott
Summer 1991

19:153/203 Popular Culture and Communication

JOURNALIST ROLE PERCEPTION QUESTIONNAIRE

STUDENT NAME________________________ DATE ______________

FILM NAME ________________________ FILM NO.______________

DESCRIPTION OF MALE AND FEMALE JOURNALISTS

This questionnaire is designed to look into the patterns of perception people have of the ways the role of journalist is portrayed in feature films. You will be asked to express your views separately for both MALE AND FEMALE JOURNALISTS in the first two parts of the questionnaire. In each section, you can express your views by indicating the degree of agreement you have with the series of statements which describe various aspects of the role of journalist. Before you start each section, please reflect upon the way the role of journalist was portrayed in the film. What issues where important both in a positive and negative way? What issues were not dealt with? It is your perceptions of the actual ways the role of journalist was portrayed in the film which are important!

If you agree very strongly that a statement is an important aspect of the way the role of journalist was portrayed in the film, give that item a score of "+5" by checking the appropriate box (the extreme right-hand box):

Disagree											X	**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

On the other hand, if you disagree very strongly that a statement is an important aspect of the way the role of journalist was portrayed in the film, give that item a score of "-5" by checking the appropriate box (the extreme left-hand box):

Disagree	X											**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

If you agree with some aspects of a statement and disagree with other aspects, so that your overall evaluation of the item is ambiguous in regard to the way the role of journalist was portrayed in the film, give that item the middle score of "0." Also, if a particular statement is not among the important aspects of the way the role of journalist was portrayed in the film you should check "0" for that statement (the center box):

Disagree						X						**Agree**
Strongly	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	**Strongly**

Items that you might disagree with a little would be given a score of "-1." Those that you might agree with a little would be given a score of "+1." And so forth.

Keep in mind that you should reserve the extreme scores ("-5" and "+5") for only those statements that you feel very strongly about. You'll probably find yourself using each of the extreme positions only a few times. There will probably be a good many more statements that you will agree or disagree with by using the more central scoring positions.

FORM--MF or FORM--FM

APPENDIX C (continued)

SAMPLE ITEM PAGE FROM SEX ROLE SPECIFIC VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE
(ITEMS ARE SEX ROLE SPECIFIC: MALE)

SECTION M : DESCRIPTION OF THE MALE JOURNALIST

This section of the questionnaire is designed to look into the patterns of perception people have of the way the role of MALE JOURNALIST is portrayed in feature films. You can express your views by indicating the degree of agreement you have with the series of statements which describe various aspects of the role of male journalist. Before you start, please reflect upon the way the role of male journalist was portrayed in the film. What issues where important both in a positive and negative way? What issues were not dealt with? It is your perceptions of the actual waythe role of MALE JOURNALIST was portrayed in the film which are important!

01. A male journalist checks, double checks, and then double checks again; verification is all important.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

02. Male journalists do not include in their stories unofficial charges affecting the reputation or moral character of a person without giving the accused a chance to reply.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

03. Male journalists often help create the news they cover.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

04. Male journalists are very interested in getting the story in print or on the air first, to have an exclusive scoop.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

05. Male journalists are often not given autonomy in handling enterprise or investigative stories.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

06. Male journalists do not pander to morbid curiosity about vice, crime, violence, murder, perversion, etc. in the stories they cover.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

07. Aggressiveness is a key trait of the male journalist.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

08. Male journalists do things they do not really want to do in the interests of getting a story or certain facts.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

09. Male journalists rarely use physical or sexual intimacy with a source to help get the story or important information.

Disagree |______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______|______| **Agree**
Strongly -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5 **Strongly**

APPENDIX D
SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE PAGE FOR THE MEDIA SEXISM SCALE

JOURNALIST ROLE PERCEPTION QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION C : CONSCIOUSNESS SCALE FOR MEDIA SEXISM

LEVEL 5
Women and Men as individuals

LEVEL 4
Women and Men must be equals

LEVEL 3	LEVEL 3
Women may be professional but first place is home	Man may help out competently at home, but first place is work

LEVEL 2	LEVEL 2
Women's place is in the home or in womanly occupations	Man's place is at work or at manly activities at home

LEVEL 1	LEVEL 1
Woman is a two-dimensional nonthinking decoration	Man is a two-dimensional decoration

The above consciousness scale is designed to specify an underlying continuum from VERY SEXIST--LEVEL 1 to NON-SEXIST--LEVEL 5 which can be used to assess the portrayal of men and women in mass media fare.

Please reflect upon the way men and women have been portrayed in the film which you have just viewed. Consider how both men and women are portrayed in all roles in the film in general, and how both men and women are portrayed in the role of journalist in specific. Please use the consciousness scale to estimate the degree of sexism which you find reflected in the various film's portrayals of men and women. Please check the appropriate level for each of the following gender portrayals.

1. In your opinion, what was the general level of sexism which you saw reflected in the portrayal of WOMEN IN ALL ROLES in the film?

___LEVEL 1 ___LEVEL 2 ___LEVEL 3 ___LEVEL 4 ____LEVEL 5

2. In your opinion, what was the general level of sexism which you saw reflected in the portrayal of MEN IN ALL ROLES in the film?

___LEVEL 1 ___LEVEL 2 ___LEVEL 3 ___LEVEL 4 ____LEVEL 5

1. In your opinion, what was the general level of sexism which you saw reflected in the portrayal of WOMEN IN JOURNALISTIC ROLES in the film?

___LEVEL 1 ___LEVEL 2 ___LEVEL 3 ___LEVEL 4 ____LEVEL 5

2. In your opinion, what was the general level of sexism which you saw reflected in the portrayal of MEN IN JOURNALISTIC ROLES in the film?

___LEVEL 1 ___LEVEL 2 ___LEVEL 3 ___LEVEL 4 ____LEVEL 5

APPENDIX D (continued)

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE FIVE LEVELS OF THE MEDIA SEXISM SCALE

The University of Iowa
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
Instructor: A. D. Talbott

19:153/203 Popular Culture and Communication

CONSCIOUSNESS SCALE FOR MEDIA SEXISM
Descriptions of Each of the Five Levels

LEVEL 1 DESCRIPTION : Woman is a two-dimensional nonthinking decoration. Man is a two-dimensional decoration.

Level 1 is similar for men and women. Women in Level 1 are presented with "put her down" images that include the "dumb blond, the sex object, and the whimpering victim." The dumb blond image is frequently found in advertisements and situation comedies, the sex object in men's magazines such as Playboy, and the whimpering victim image in television dramas and detective magazines. Men are also presented as sex objects; cigarettes ads use sexy, rugged men, and Calvin Kline advertisements for jeans and cologne often feature sexy, partially clothed men. In many of these ads, men and women function as decoration; their faces and figures are used to enhance the attractiveness of the products, not to provide consumers with information about the products.

LEVEL 2 DESCRIPTION : Women's place is in the home or in womanly occupations. Man's place is at work or at manly activities at home.

The women in Level 2 images are shown as strong and capable women, but only within the confines of traditional female roles such as wives, mothers, secretaries, teachers and nurses. Accordingly, men are shown in business or sports contexts, the traditional manly activities. When men are shown working at home, they are cast in tradition "manly" jobs, such as taking out the trash, doing yardwork, or being served by women. Further, when men do assume "womanly" jobs such as cooking or changing diapers, they are depicted as "abysmally incompetent;" these depictions of incompetency when the traditional boundaries are transcended are part of negative Level 2 images. Women with negative Level 2 images develop unwomanly traits, or they are shown struggling in physician or corporate executive roles, roles that are "beyond them." The theme running through these images is "keep her/him in her/his place."

CONSCIOUSNESS SCALE FOR MEDIA SEXISM
Descriptions of Each of the Five Levels
(continued)

LEVEL 3 DESCRIPTION : Women may be professional, but first place is home. Man may help out competently at home, but first place is work.

Level 3 imagers are representative of many "progressive" media images of women. Here, the underlying theme is "give her/him two places." At this level, the woman may work outside the home, but her roles as wife, homemaker and mother are still the most important. For example, in television dramas a woman may be a successful physician or professor, but she still rushes home home to prepare the evening meal for her family. For men, these priorities are reversed; the man functions primarily as breadwinner, but he may be shown competently helping his wife with household chores.

LEVEL 4 DESCRIPTION : Women and Men must be equals.

The images of men and women presented are Level 4 are emerging as non-stereotypical and stress equality among men and women. These images DO NOT remind us that there are non-negotiable separate sets of roles and activities which are respectively reserved for women and and men. Men and women are acknowledged in these images as "fully equal." For example the mothering roles and housework are no longer stressed as women's work in Level 4; the image acknowledges that she is fully equal with men and they treat her as a professional. Also, there are no roles the exclusive province of the males. All persons, both men and women, treat each other with respect. Examples of such Level 4 images in advertising would be ads which focus upon the profiles of famous men and women which emphasize their professional competence and collegial respect in their vocations without mention of their private, personal lives or non-vocational activities

LEVEL 5 DESCRIPTION : Women and Men as individuals.

Level 5 images are also free of stereotypes, but stress the autonomy of the individual. Men and women are treated as individuals and are not judged, by their sex. Unlike Level 4 that concentrates on equality among men and women, Level 5 acknowledges that individual women and men are viewed as superior to each other in some respects and inferior in other respects. Hence, women and men are valued for their differentness and unique abilities. A couple of types of Level V images include "role reversals" and "unusual role." To illustrate, a Dewar's advertisement described a woman as an "urban and natural resource analyst" with the "unique ability to mobilize experts in many different fields to

CONSCIOUSNESS SCALE FOR MEDIA SEXISM
Descriptions of Each of the Five Levels
(continued)

LEVEL 5 DESCRIPTION : Women and Men as individuals (continued).

attack the problems of people from areas as diverse as small New England towns and large Asian cities." In this case, the woman has an occupation usually reserved for men. Other Dewar ads have shown men who have roles which are usually reserved for women. In such ads, the persons are depicted as complex, balanced, well-rounded, authentic individuals. The dogmatism of Level 4 (men and women shall be equals) is no longer necessary since individuals are not judged by their sex. People are presented in Level 5 images as mutually accepting each other in their variety, differentness, and complexity involving both strengths and weaknesses.

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APPENDIX E

TABLE 6.--LIST OF 43 FEATURE FILMS DEPICTING JOURNALISTS INCLUDED IN TALBOTT'S (1990) SEVEN STUDIES INVOLVING STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF THE WAYS JOURNALISTS ARE PORTRAYED

THE FILMS WHICH WERE INCLUDED IN EACH STUDY								
STY 1	STY 2	STY 3	STY 4	STY 5	STY 6	STY 7	FILM NO.	FILM TITLE (date)
1				5			01	The Front Page (1931)
1	2	3				7	02	His Girl Friday (1940)
1		3		5			03	Citizen Kane (1941)
1							04	Meet John Doe (1941)
					6	7	05	Call Northside 777 (1948)
			4			7	06	Rear Window (1954)
1				5			07	Teacher's Pet (1958)
1							08	The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance (1962)
					6		09	Black Like Me (1964)
					6		10	The Green Berets (1968)
1							11	Medium Cool (1969)
	2					7	12	The Night Stalker (1971)
					6		13	The Front Page (1974)
			4				14	The Odessa File (1974)
			4				15	The Parallax View (1974)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	16	All the President's Men (1976)
1		3					17	Network (1976)
	2						18	Superman I (1978)
	2	3					19	China Syndrome (1979)
			4				20	Electric Horseman (1979)
1		3					21	Deathwatch (1980)
					6		22	Where the Buffalo Roam (1980)
1		3		5			23	Absence of Malice (1981)
	2						24	Reds (1981)
			4	5			25	Under Fire (1983)
	2						26	Year of Living Dangerously (1983)
1							27	The Killing Fields (1984)
			4				28	Defence of the Realm (1985)
			4				29	Fletch (1985)
	2	3					30	Max Headroom (1985)
	2	3				7	31	The Mean Season (1985)
					6		32	Perfect (1985)
	2						33	Salvador (1986)
	2			5			34	Broadcast News (1987)
			4				35	Deadline (1987)
					6		36	Full Metal Jacket (1987)
			4	5		7	37	Street Smart (1987)
			4				38	Superman IV: The Quest for Peace (1987)
					6		39	A Cry in the Dark (1988)
					6	7	40	The Dead Pool (1988)
	2			5			41	Switching Channels (1988)
					6		42	Batman (1989)
						7	43	Money, Power, Murder (1989)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	44	Ideal Journalist Beginning of Semester
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	45	Lou Grant TV Series Episodes (1977-82)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	46	Actual Journalist
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	47	Ideal Journalist End of Semester

APPENDIX E (continued)

TABLE 7.--NUMBER OF STUDENTS PARTICIPATING IN EACH OF TALBOTT'S (1990) SEVEN STUDIES OF FEATURE FILMS DEPICTING JOURNALISTS INVOLVING STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF THE WAYS JOURNALISTS ARE PORTRAYED

STUDY NO.	DATE OF STUDY	NO. OF FILMS	NO. OF STUDENTS
1	Spring 1987	12	53
2	Spring 1988	12	44
3	Summer 1988	9	15
4	Spring 1989	11	68
5	Summer 1989	9	16
6	Spring 1990	11	37
7	Summer 1990	9	7
TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO PARTICIPATED IN SEVEN STUDIES OF FILMS DEPICTING JOURNALISTS			240

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"Female Archetypes in Late '80s Films"
Fakhri Haghani
Georgia State University

AEJMC Convention, 1994

Division: **Commission on the Status of Women**

Session Title: **"Meaning in Women's Portrayals"**

Date & Time: **August 10, 1994; 1-2:30 p.m.**

Female Archetypes in Late '80s Films

by

Fakhri Haghani
Graduate Student (M.A.) in Art History
Georgia State University
Atlanta, Georgia

Contents

I. Introduction

II. Literature Review

III. Methodolgy

IV. Analysis

V. Conclusion

Introduction

According to Faludi (1991), feminists are blamed by society because of their advice on women's self-realization which is achieved through autonomy, independence, and career advancement. She claimed that politicians, academicians, and law officials believe that women's professional involvement has actually increased violence against women and is disturbing marriage and motherhood. Even some liberated women have argued that "equality" causes women "to lose the ground instead of gaining it" (X). However, she believed that the fact that national surveys demonstrate that women still are discriminated against in the workforce, at home, and by social services reveals a different reality.

> The so-called female crises have had their origins not in the actual conditions of women's lives, but rather, in a closed system that starts and ends in the media, popular culture, and advertising - an endless feedback loop that perpetuates and exaggerates its own false images of womanhood. (XV)

She argued that the outlets of popular culture such as popular novels, TV shows, and films talk about the miserable life of the new emancipated woman and represent an image of dead-end sexual revolution and desperate free women of the last decade or so.

In this context, Kuhn (1985) referred to Hollywood films and argued that those films "are produced commercially for mass audiences and are culturally dominant" (7). Hollywood stereotyping can either present idealized, symbolic, and fantasized forms of female imagery or represent the lives of real women. Kuhn explained how Roland Barthes, introducing semiotics, stated that meanings are produced through the codes in representations. Kuhn pointed at John Berger's book and TV series, Ways of Seeing, which argued that because meaning takes place within social and historical context, capitalist representations are similar to other products in the marketplace. She believed that analyzing such images is necessary to our "understanding of the relationship between representation and sexuality" (6).

Examining the representation of woman in films that have been produced by Hollywood during the late '80s and into the '90s is the purpose of the present study. In this study, I will attempt to identify and discuss the fundamental structure of female archetypes which emerged from the female film types of that period. An archetype is "the original model, form, or pattern from which something is made" (Gove 1967, 12). It is "a perfect example of a particular type" (12). Gupta (1987) explained that images, in order to be considered as archetypes, should possess a powerful emotional character and cause a positive reaction. She observed that

> the archetypes have their own initiative and specific energy, enabling them to produce meaningful interpretations and to redirect conscious thought and behavior. They create myths, religions, philosophies that characterize whole nations and epochs of history. (55)

In this context, we should not forget that Hollywood, in producing and representing those archetypes, has associated some values with them; therefore, a message accompanies each one of these archetypes.

Literature Review

Carroll (1990), in her article on the image of women in film, did not consider the psychoanalytical approach typified by Mulvey and her theorizing of the "male gaze" to be sufficient. According to Mulvey, the patriarchal structure of film form establishes the socially constructed sexual difference which "controls images, erotic way of looking, and spectacle" (Mulvey 1975, 6). She suggested that "cinematic codes create a gaze" which is based on active (male) spectator in control of a passive (female) screen-object (11). Therefore, woman "holds the look, plays to and signifies male desire while man is the bearer of the look" (11). In consequence, the woman's image becomes the object to be looked at and to be desired by the male-spectator who possesses the gaze. In this context, woman "has functioned on 2 levels: as erotic object for the characters within the screen story, and as erotic object for the spectator within the auditorium" (11).

In opposition to Mulvey's psychoanalytical approach, which is based on negative images only, Carroll (1990) argued that the "image approach method" could be used in revealing both negative and positive representations. Carroll's "image approach" to the movies basically looks for and tracks the images of women reappearing with significant frequency through a historical pattern of representation. Moreover, while Mulvey generalized that women in film pose as passive spectators, Carroll's "image of women models" confirms that position through statistical frequency. Carroll then related this kind of imagery to what she called "paradigm scenario," which basically is the emotional response of men towards women and is acquired through the reinforcement of a variety of sources such as "stories told us by friends and school teachers, gossip, newspaper articles, self-help books, TV shows, novels, plays, films, and so on" (356).

In fact, Carroll's image of women model methodology was used by a number of critics in their studies of the representations of women in film. Welsch (1978), in her dissertation entitled Film Archetypes, discussed the development of goddess archetype and virgin/vamp prototype. She believed that this derivation then progressed into the "more realistic types such as the feminine-masculine girl and the good-bad girl which fuse virgin and vamp qualities less exotically than la divine" (40). By focusing her study on seven actresses from the 1950s and '60s, Welsch expanded her archetypal representations into the four categories of mother, sister, mistress, and daughter. All four are basically related to the virgin/vamp prototype and are extracted from that structure (1978).

Haskell (1987) discussed the structural basis of the representation of soul and body, virgin and whore dichotomies. She observed that flappers, super-females, sex goddesses, sex objects, earth goddesses, bitches, and mothers are derivations of the virgin/whore dualism common in representations of the 1950s. Haskell believed that the form in which virgin/whore dualism appears may vary in each era, but this dualism essentially shapes the structural meaning of female imagery in all ages and eras.

Changes in the structure of society and family have been expected to transform the representational form of virgin/vamp duality. Some critics have suggested that Hollywood movies project a substantial increase in nonmarital sexual activities and accept the representation of this kind of sexual conduct without any sort of punishment (Rothman, Powers, and Rothman 1993). They have argued that the romantic idealism of marriage and family which mainly surrounded women in the movies produced before 1968 has given place now to free sex and a more complex characterization of women (Rothman et al. 1993).

Through a systematic analysis of a random sample of the 100 top grossing films since 1946, these critics suggested that in movies produced after mid-1960, romance is considered a secondary motivation for women who are represented in professional positions (Rothman et al. 1993). At the same time, romance still is very important for women in traditional occupations such as homemakers. Female characters such as Sally in *When Harry Met Sally (1989)* are independent and modern women who confront problems similar to men's and reveal their hesitation for romance in opposition to the "earlier portrayal of women as more willing participants in romance" (Rothman et al. 1993, 70).

In addition to representing a new form of sex, romance, and women's occupations, Rothman et al. believed that Hollywood in the mid '80s began to attach a new goal and meaning to female characters (1993). In movies such as *Terminator 2 (1991)* and

Thelma and Louise (1991), violence is an important new theme for women. This is true especially for nontraditionally employed women (Rothman et al. 1993). In summary, these critics concluded that Hollywood has not overlooked women's roles in relation to the social changes in sex, romance, and professional employment. The representations of women characters in elite jobs "go far ahead of men despite their reliance on negative goals and methods" (72). In fact, the "Hollywood elite has not discarded old myths for truth, but it has created new myths to replace outmoded ones" (72).

A new kind of myth, which is still based on virgin/whore dualism in the context of sex, romance, and women's professional employment, has been studied by Greenberg (1991). Discussing a box office hit, *Pretty Woman (1990)*, which represents the salvation of a prostitute through her marriage to a wealthy and high-class businessman, Greenberg observed that "*Pretty Woman* has busily hawked this dubious vision of woman as hooker *cum* handmaiden, Madonna, and whore made one flesh" (11). Greenberg argued that despite the false emphasis of the movie on the concept of mutual rescue, Vivian is the only one shown "desperately in need of extrication from her lifestyle" (11). Edward needs very little rescue -- only to become more humanized by Vivian's special qualities, which do not include intelligence. In fact, all women in this movie are represented as "brainless bimbette, or bitches, or both" (11).

Greenberg believed that in another movie, *Working Girl*

(1988), another typical female representation is portrayed while *simultaneously "satirizing women as bimbos/bitches, evidently* in aid of recuperating the challenged patriarchal status quo" (12). For Greenberg (1991) both female lead characters are represented as naive and stupid, and both are rescued by men. According to Greenberg, the enormous success of *Pretty Woman* among female viewers comes out of the struggle of women in the workplace over power, conditions, and other inequities. That is the main reason why women choose "disillusion given way to eroticized illusion of a better life through the dubious blandishments of pennydreadful romance" (13).

Through her analysis of the two movies, *Pretty Woman* and *Sleeping with the Enemy (1991)*, Caputi (1991) observed both consequences resulting from women's disillusionment with romance and the stereotypical representations of women in cinema. Considering *Sleeping with the Enemy* as the sequel to *Pretty Woman* (the story is about a battered wife who finally murders her jealous and obsessed husband), Caputi discussed the essence of both relationships as "based purely in male power and female submission" (5). The representation of sex in both movies is based on male "power and female abnegation" (6). Edward of *Pretty Woman* and Martin of *Sleeping with the Enemy* both are jealous, pay special attention to their lover's dress or manner, and are protectors. In both movies, women are objects that the males buy and possess through their power and wealth (Caputi 1991).

Caputi (1991) believed that the concept of mutual salvation emphasized in *Pretty Woman* is very much an unreal myth. The salvation of a prostitute by a multimillionaire capitalist is pure Hollywood, but the abuse of a woman by a man is very true. "Seducing us with the archetypal romance and the gloss of mutual salvation, *Pretty Woman* positions its audience as 'cheerleader' for Vivian and Edward's relationship" (6-7).

> Both films represent collective female fantasies. Although superficially distinct in genre, subject, and tone, each takes the same materials - the socially constructed power differential between women and men, the commingled fear and love women feel for men in a culture that aggrandizes men and devalues women - and shapes these into either utopian fantasy or high paranoia nightmare. (7)

In summary, while Caputi (1991) indicated the success of movies such as *Pretty Woman*, which is directed towards a female audience and tied to traditional romance, she also pointed out that *Sleeping with the Enemy* reveals "the grotesque excursion into the underside of patriarchal romance" (8).

Patriarchal rules in Hollywood produced another box office movie that conveyed contradictory social messages. *Fatal Attraction (1987)* definitely produced prototypes and, as Berland and Wechter (1992) argued

> recasts conventional archetypes of women, creating through new iconic images what seem to be new possibilities for women's lives. What ultimately emerges, however, is not a departure from traditional feminine stereotypes, but a reiteration of restrictive patterns. (35)

According to Berland and Wechter, the iconic female imagery in this movie initially does not portray traditional either/or oppositions. Beth, Dan's wife and the mother of a six-year-old boy, is a sexy and sophisticated woman in opposition to traditional, unsensual mother and wife imagery. She is also represented with dark hair, another strong opposition to traditionally iconic identification of light with virgin and dark with vamp.

Similarly, the portrayal of Alex, Dan's mistress, as a career woman who is also feminine, appears to recast the prototype (Berland and Wechter 1992). She is a "woman in control, worldly-wise New York book editor" (37). These critics suggested that this new female look portrays women as sexual beings and sexual participants in contrast to the previous stereotypical passivity of women's representations. This is more true of the representation of Alex during the sex scenes, especially with the addition of water images as a biological female association: a running faucet and boiling water. The new look provides an image of woman "to be a mother without being asexual, to own and act on her own sexual desire, to have brains and beauty" (37). This demonstrates an integration of parts instead of either/or constructions (Berland and Wechter 1992).

But, according to Berland and Wechter (1992), the overall narrative of the movie does not comply with the female iconography of integration. Alex is portrayed as a crazy woman when Dan intends to leave her after a passionate weekend. When Dan says her desire is outside "the rules of the game," Alex asks "What rules?" (40). The narrative after this dialogue focusses on Alex's "irrational behavior rather than on the content of her speech and thoughts" (40) that has been missing historically in narratives for women. The movie ends with the killing of Alex, once by Dan and the second time by Beth. The closing scene focuses on a framed picture of wife, husband, and child, a "powerful popular cultural image," to emphasize the "stability and security of an idealized nuclear family" (Berland and Wechter 1992, 41). The image of Alex as a character who wanted to integrate all of the traditionally opposite female modes, "wife and professional woman, mother and free spirit, sexual being and domestic helpmate, is eliminated so that the traditional oppositions may be restored" (42).

Joshel (1992, 59) pointed to the "sexually aggressive and autonomous woman" character of Alex in *Fatal Attraction*. She argued that while this female voice distorts feminist language, it does draw the viewer's attention to popular feminism. In addition, the voice "destroys both its speaker and others" and encourages "the viewer's desire for the punishment of the liberated woman" (59). She then suggested that in this movie feminist language is presented as unable "to speak any truth" because "she makes reasonable what it is not in Dan's terms reasonable" (62). Joshel argued that feminism is shown as a cover for women to manipulate and punish men. "The voice speaks feminist sentiments, but the image displays lies and double meanings" (65). Alex is represented as "a woman who may not know the truth of herself at all" (62). The audience is encouraged to see feminism as "unreliable." She suggested that Alex and Beth are "two sides of the patriarchal mirror that rule every woman's self-evaluation" (67).

Nadotti (1989) observed that Hollywood has changed its tactic towards woman, the leftovers by choice or not, and cannot ignore them anymore. Therefore, the formulas which were used for our social/sexual relationships, both happy family and monogamous couple are not common anymore. Even the traces of sexual-revolution philosophy would not be considered appropriate for today's relationships. She argued that in *Fatal Attraction*, the affair creates a kind of competition that produces a war between women. Examining another movie, *Far North (1988)*, she suggested that the movie represents only the facts. The movie does not relate to the themes such as "men versus women, pro-versus anti-family, monogamy versus sexual freedom, oppression versus female liberation" at all (Nadotti 1989, 12). The central theme of the movie is about the absence of men. Only signs of them are observed, such as a TV program on war, politics, and sports; a rifle; and "a horse, symbol of meditation between a male universe and a matriarchy that have evolved more out of necessity than choice" (12). The movie, Nadotti suggested, represents the passage of the women's body from dependence into solitude without experiencing freedom. She concluded that this movie represents women's "hallucinatory visions of men" through males' eyes and that "desire has lost its own object, but not its own intensity" (12).

Maio (1991, 83), in her analysis of the movie *Thelma & Louise*, talked about the "subversion of a male action formula."

She argued that

> *Thelma & Louis* portrayed male violence as an ordinary, everyday event. It is more than rape. It is a husband's verbal abuse of his wife; it's a stranger feeling he has the right to harass any woman...It's their ultimate rejection of patriarchy that makes *Thelma & Louis* such controversial movie heroes. (83)

Maio then suggested that the movie was opposed strongly by men, because, in other movies in which women kill men, women somehow remained good girls. An example of such a movie is *Sleeping with the Enemy*. When the wife kills the husband, who traced her down after her running away from home, she does it to protect her new boyfriend. Maio then pointed at another example, Clarice Starling, a FBI agent in the *Silence of the Lambs (1991)*, who kills a serial killer. She suggested that Clarice is a strong but "emotionally wounded heroine" (83). However, she is manipulated by two male figures, the psychiatrist serial killer and the father-figure FBI boss.

In *Terminator 2*, Maio suggested, Sarah both protects her son and prevents a nuclear holocaust as mother of us all. She pointed out that the same theme was represented in *Aliens (1986)*, when "mother figure Ripley fought a space alien 'mom' to protect her young charge" (84). These are the monster figures with which mothers should fight. Maio believed that this monster could also be a single career woman in Hollywood's favorite movies. *Fatal Attraction* is an example of such a movie. In this movie, the homemaker figure protects hearth and home and kills the monster. This is Hollywood's representation of femmes fatales that supports traditional femininity and male power. Maio explained that, as long as women defend their men and family, they can even kill men. However, to defend themselves against the systematic male violence is not accepted by Hollywood. She believed that although in *Thelma & Louis* women commit suicide, the movie provides strong images against male violence and domination.

Grenier (1991) talked about "the wave of manly females," during the '80s and into the '90s which included women warriors, women soldiers, women policemen, women detectives, and women athletes. He believed that women today "alternate aspects of half woman, half tiger of the previous romantic period (a male fantasy) and the female role model (a feminist fantasy)" (50). In *Silence of the Lambs*, Judie Foster is a FBI agent and in *Terminator 2*, the most aggressive and warlike part is played by Linda Hamilton. Grenier then pointed at another category of the feminist character: "woman as victim, often compelled to murder her male tormentor" or women who commit "justifiable homicide" (50). *Sleeping with the Enemy* is an example of such a movie.

Grenier argued that another movie which created a lot of comments and criticism is *Thelma & Louis*. A number of positive feminist writings and opinions have been expressed towards this movie and especially about its suicidal end. He observed that the movie was interpreted as "welcome toughness," "arrival at a philosophical clarity that would have been unavailable to women in their prior lives," and "liberating road to self-destruction" (52). Grenier believed that *Thelma & Louis* embodies "the two strands in the current wave of movie feminism: woman as victim, and woman as fiercely independent and assertive" (52). The pessimistic view of the movie regarding the women's status in today's society is probably too extreme. Grenier then asked whether the killer bimbo or imitation of male characters such as "buddy friends" in *Butch & Cassidy (1969)* would be the right answer to the issue of feminism. He suggested that the problem with *Thelma & Louise* exists mainly in the "artificial" representation of the female realities that in turn brings the story to a tragical conclusion.

Methodology

In this research, I intend to examine female archetypes introduced by Hollywood during the late '80s and into the '90s. I have chosen this period because I believe that Hollywood, during that same period, through the production of a number of specific movies that were mainly directed towards a female audience, represented a particular view of women's personal, social, and political achievements and roles. Therefore, through defining and categorizing those female archetypes, I will answer the following questions: What kinds of female images did Hollywood produce during the late '80s and into the '90s? Did the change in the representation of sexual activities, family structure, and women's employment, which occurred after the 1960s, have any real effect on the production of women archetypes in Hollywood movies? And if it did, how do these archetypes relate to the original virgin/vamp prototype and its extractions such as mother and mistress? Finally, did Hollywood, through the representation of these archetypes, construct femininity in specific ways? And if it did what kind of messages does this femininity reveal to the viewers about the women's progress in today's society.

In order to find both female archetypes represented by Hollywood during the late '80s and into the '90s and to answer the questions above, I will do a textual analysis of sample movies from that period. In the selection process, I have chosen movies in which women have a central role and in which they represent exemplary archetypes. An inordinately large crop of films with significant female roles which exemplified particular archetypes were produced by Hollywood during 1988 and 1991. In this context, both years were particularly good years to explore archetypes; therefore, I have included four sample movies from 1988 and five from 1991. Finally, I have also limited my choices by selecting movies that were among the top grossing attractions produced between 1986 and 1991 in the United States.

Based upon the above criteria, the following movies have been chosen for analysis: *Aliens (1986)*, *Fatal Attraction (1987)*, *The Witches of Eastwick (1987)*, *Accused (1988)*, *Far North (1988)*, *The Good Mother (1988)*, *Working Girl (1988)*, *When Harry Met Sally (1989)*, *Ghost (1990)*, *Pretty Woman (1990)*, *Broadcast News (1991)*, *Silence of the Lambs (1991)*, *Sleeping with the Enemy (1991)*, *Terminator 2 (1991)*, and *Thelma & Louise (1991)*.

Analysis

The basic virgin/vamp prototype used as a model in the representation of women in film before the 1960s created

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archetypes such as mother, sister, mistress, and daughter (Welsh 1978). When one considers the infrastructural changes of women's status in society during the last decade, women's representation in Hollywood during the 1980s definitely needed transformation. Rothman et al. (1993) have suggested that the increase in the number of women in nontraditional female occupations made Hollywood take into consideration women's entry into the professional world and the changes in sexual relationships between men and women. The number of women entering the workforce since the 1970s doubled between the '80s and '90s. At the same time, women's demand for equity in all aspects of life has increased not only through the women's movement's emphasis on self-evaluation and independence but also through the individual needs of women in today's American society. This demand for equity and the women's professional entrance in the areas that previously were considered masculine opened a different perspective for women regarding their relationship with men, their sexual desires, and their expectations from and self-realization in life.

In a sense, Hollywood during the 1980s heard this demand and responded to it, even though the number of women employed in the cinema had decreased compared to the 1970s. Some of the female imagery of Hollywood during the late '80s and into the '90s have included career women, sexually liberated or semiliberated women, women who stood against male violence, and mothers who, besides their motherhood, were also concerned about their individual beings. In fact, as Rothman et al. (1993) have suggested, in representing women during the 1980s, Hollywood did not hesitate to create new stereotypes. But what is missing from their critical analysis is a substantial discussion on the type of messages that these new myths of self-consciousness and liberation carried to their female viewers. Instead of elaborating on integration, liberation, and realization of different aspects of women's lives, all Hollywood offered was distorted forms of women's realities. The fragmented facts, taken from women's achievements and desires in today's American society, were assembled to build a popular female imagery that essentially aimed to support and protect a male-dominated system. In turn, these patriarchal constructions of popular female imagery aimed to satirize and distort the true efforts and struggles which women confront in every day life to gain independence and power.

A number of critics have pointed out the male-oriented view of Hollywood during the last decade by discussing the images of women represented through a number of movies that not only narrated women's lives but were also directed towards female viewers (Caputi 1991; Greenberg 1991; Grenier 1991; Joshel 1992; Maio 1991; Nadotti 1989). These critics essentially selected one or more movies and discussed the focus of those movies on certain themes or concepts related to women's lives or idealogy. What is missing among these studies is a systematic organization given to the different representations of Hollywood's female imagery. In this context, combining these critical studies with some of my own analysis of female stereotyping may lead to the identification of female archetypes, to assist in looking at the meanings that Hollywood attributed to women's lives during the late '80s and into the '90s.

Fatal Attraction represented the two traditional iconic images of career woman and mother/wife in a new dress with the successful conclusion of triumph and revival of motherhood over career professionalism (Berland and Wechter 1992; Nadotti 1989; Maio 1991; Joshel 1992). It is the representation of professional woman as irrational, evil, and threatening to society versus mother as the reflection of serenity, sensuality, and continuity. Thus, Hollywood still maintains the iconic archetypes of psychopathic career woman versus sensual wife.

Motherhood is also discussed in a different context in *The Good Mother (1988)*. The movie, mainly, advocates motherhood over career achievement. The importance of family over sexual desire is portrayed in the figure of Anna. In this movie men are provided as the means for women's financial satisfaction, sexual happiness, and self-confidence but not as emotional support for the family. As a child, Anna witnesses the early death of Babe, her youngest aunt and idol as a liberated woman. However, she later learns to chose a conventional life instead of an ideal one. As a single woman, Anna tries to fulfill herself through her total dedication to her little daughter, Molly. She goes through a relationship with a sculptor with caution but finds out that he is opening her to a new and exciting sexual world that she has never experienced before. At the same time that she is portrayed as a happy mother and lover, her daughter is taken away from her by the ex-husband for the reason of sexual abuse. Anna ends up losing both the daughter and the boyfriend and resumes a conventional, unhappy, and unchallenged life.

Basically, *The Good Mother* is about the limited choice of woman in life between motherhood and sexual and individual freedom. There is an absolute power of patriarchy that controls and directs women's lives and expectations. There is no choice for woman. Anna is left with at least the fragments of her family only after she has sacrificed her personal desire for the maternal one. Babe, who broke the rules by being a free-spirited and unconventional woman, dies. Anna represents the asexual mother archetype in this movie.

Woman's choice in life is the subject of some other movies during the late '80s and into the '90s. The focus of some of these movies is modern women's independence and brilliance and how their intellectual freedom stops them from having a family life and makes them unhappy. Sally in *When Harry Met Sally* is a modern, independent woman who happens to accompany Harry on a trip. Although she falls in love with Harry, she, like a man, avoids expressing her feelings towards to him (Rothman, Powers, and Rothman 1993).

In opposition to the successful happy ending of Sally, Jane in *Broadcast News (1991)* is portrayed as unhappy and unfulfilled.

She is the news producer at the Washington Bureau. She is very smart and has become an executive producer, but at the same time she is a romantic and sensitive woman too. She is undecided in her choice between her two colleagues, Aaron, a honest and skilled reporter but flop anchorman, and Tom, an unexperienced and dishonest journalist but successful anchorman. Although she is attracted sexually to Tom, she rejects the relationship because of her journalistic ideals. Her personal life is empty and the viewer is supposed to infer this fact as there is reference neither to her family nor to her friends. She is very dynamic at her job, but passive in personal life. She is also portrayed as jealous, authoritarian, and stressed out. Her unhappiness is portrayed by a few shots of her in the gesture of meditation while she cries outlawed. The movie concludes with portraying all three promoted to high positions in different cities. However, Tom is engaged and Aaron has a son, while Jane still talks hesitantly about her boyfriend. Jane is an appropriate example of the unhappy and unfulfilled woman without a man. The central theme of *Far North*, covering a completely different type of subject, is also about the absence of men (Nadotti 1989). The archetype represented in both movies is the repressed unmarried woman.

Pretty Woman and *Working Girl* portray brainless women in low social status and devalued professions. They are women in "sleeping beauty style," one as a prostitute and the other as a secretary. Both are rescued through men, one by marriage and the other by moving to a high-status position and by finding a high-class boyfriend. (Greenberg 1991; Caputi 1991). Both introduce the rescued bimbos/bitches archetype.

Another popular theme in Hollywood's female imagery is violence. *Silence of the Lambs*, *Terminator 2*, *Aliens*, and *Sleeping with the Enemy* all portray women who kill and destroy. Theirs is a "justifiable homicide," because it is an act of protection of their families (Caputi 1991; Maio 1991; Grenier 1991). Some of the women themselves are victims of physical violence (Laura in *Sleeping with the Enemy*) or emotional abuse (Clarice in *Silence of the Lambs*), while others represent symbolic mother-earth protectors (mother figures Ripley in *Aliens* and Sarah in *Terminator 2*). The female figure is either sexually dominated, such as Laura, or is conservative in expressing her sexual desires, like Clarice. Mother figures are not even included in that category. These women are either homemakers such as Laura and the mother figures, or come from working-class status like Clarice. Women in these movies succeed in their mission and save future humanity. Moreover, these women are also instructed, protected, and assisted by men and usually follow their instructions. They represent the archetype of the "rambo" woman or "gun-woman protector."

At the same time that Hollywood introduced these "warrior bimbo" prototypes, another type of "violent" woman came out. *Thelma & Louise* portrays a housewife and waitress on their way to independence and assertion. In opposition to the gun-woman archetype, these figures stand against the systematic violence of patriarchy. In addition, they also become sexually liberated (Maio 1991; Grenier 1991). Hollywood does not seek a happy ending for these women. Although it had been suggested that Thelma & Louise "arrive at a philosophical clarity and liberating road to self-destruction" (Grenier 1991, 52), the suicidal ending of the movie does not reflect the act of continuation even though it seems to imply that. In Hollywood the women's struggle for their rights is a dead-end. Even if we assume that some women do chose a utopian self-destruction, it would not be "Hollywood" to reward that degree of self-consciousness. The suicidal act of *Thelma & Louise* is a threat to authentic feminist goals of equity and liberation. In Hollywood the archetype of the assertive woman is self-destructive, a version of feminism that is violent, extreme, and illusionary.

While Thelma & Louise stand against systematic violence of patriarchy and are eliminated, Sarah in *The Accused (1988)* wins a portion of the battle against an individual man. She is a radical sexual woman. She feels free to express her sexual desires through unconventional actions and outfits. However, she is a rape victim not only because of her radical characteristics but also because of her lower-class life and unvalued social status in our society. She is a waitress and does not have a "traditional family." Her only relative, her mother, is not even concerned enough to spend a few minutes with her on the phone. She is raped by three men who in turn have been cheered by another three male witnesses. Essentially, she is equated with Vivian, the prostitute in *Pretty Woman*, but is differentiated from her by her act of protest against the violence imposed on her body. After settling the case out of court, Kathy, the sophisticated and educated district deputy, finds a way to call Sarah to testify. She decides to present a new case to prosecute the people who cheered the rape. The movie ends with the men declared guilty of criminal solicitation mainly because of the testimony of Jessy, a college boy who was a witness to the rape.

The Accused is valued by some critics not only for its focus on rape, a rare theme in Hollywood movies, but also for the display of one of the longest and most disturbing rape scenes in Hollywood history. However, these positive messages are distorted in the conclusion. The movie changes the focus from the act of rape, which is an act of both physical and mental violence against women, to the people who support and cheer rape. Sarah is partially rescued when a man defends her and testifies in her favor. She, as a whore emblem of society, is not blessed by patriarchy because she does not romanticize sex. She also questions the power of patriarchy and refuses to make deals. That she survives only as a dis-empowered protester and a powerless liberated image is necessary to reassure patriarchal position. Sarah is a socially constructed prostitute who is forced to provide free sexual services because of her claim of liberation. She is the archetype of prostitute liberated woman.

Woman's Manipulation is not a new subject but during the late '80s and into the '90s received special effects. In *The Witches of Eastwick (1987)* the young women's dream for an outsider male figure comes true by the arrival of Darrell, a wealthy womanizer from New York. He speaks to them sensually, touching on their hidden desires. He is also a mentor for their self-identification and helps them rediscover their true inhibited being, as an artist, a musician, and a sensitive journalist. He uses their power to display some of his supernatural effects. When the women decide to destroy him, their power is represented ironically and satirized. They succeed in destroying him physically, but his spirit remains alive, as a role model for his three sons, by being represented on a big TV screen. These women are portrayed as Darrell's family. Although he superficially encourages women in being free spirits essentially, he uses them as sexual objects. He speaks a popular feminist language to conquer women, which is a distorted authentic feminist voice. He is in control of the situation even after he is destroyed.

In *The Witches of Eastwick*, women occasionally are able to act upon their desires, whereas in *Ghost (1990)* women are totally controlled by men. Sam has moved to a new apartment with his fiance, Molly. He loves Molly passionately but he is not used to expressing his feelings. Sam is killed by his friend at work for money problems, but his spirit is alive and lives among people. He is able to watch over Molly all the time. He forces a fortune-teller, who is able to hear him, to let Molly know about his homicide and the fact that Molly is also in danger. Sam finally gets his revenge and his friend is dead. This is a totally fantasized movie. It promotes total submission of women as Sam manipulates their power and imagination. Molly is active only in some illusionistic romanticized and fantasized sexual scenes of passion. Molly seeks traditional romance and family. Although she is not able to manage her life with Sam, his reappearance as a protector enforces her belief in an illusionary love and romance. Both movies, *The Witches of Eastwick* and *Ghost,* are essentially about manipulizing, satirizing, and romanticizing women. They are the ultimate tactics to keep women silent and dis-empowered. These are the archetypes of dis-empowered fantasizing woman.

In discussing and determining female archetypes in Hollywood movies during the late '80s and into the '90s, it is necessary to reflect on the basic virgin/vamp prototype of the 1950s. Basically, both archetype and prototype have similar meanings, but the archetype appears to incorporate both the good and the bad qualities of virgin/vamp dichotomies, whereas the prototype is mostly inclined towards one or the other. Overall, the archetype and prototype may be used interchangeably if an integration between virgin and vamp qualities occur. However, except for the old goddess archetype that incorporates both the purity and the sin of virgin/vamp dichotomies, more recent realistic archetypes such as mother and mistress or psychopathic career woman and asexual mother, and the like are essentially the extractions from one or the other instead of their integration. Haskell (1978) argued that the form in which certain archetypes are represented may change in different eras, but this dichotomy remains the structural basis of different archetypes.

As we observed, during the 1980s, women's participation in different aspects of society has dramatically increased; therefore, women's expectations in life have also been transformed. At the same time, women scholars, writers, and critics have started to discuss women's issues more openly, in particular women's emotional and physical needs in today's society. In a sense, a new form of feminist activities was born and started to grow quickly and gain a few achievements for women as they approached the late '80s. In this context, it will be quite appropriate to say that Hollywood, during the late '80s and into the 90, replaced the virgin/vamp prototype of the 1950s with the antifeminist/feminist dichotomies. The fear from the new feminist gains and successes caused Hollywood to create its popular version of feminism and place it in opposition to an authentic feminism. Archetypes introduced above, such as psychopathic career woman, sensual wife, asexual mother, rescued bimbo, gun-woman protector, self-destructive assertive woman, prostitute liberated woman, repressed unmarried woman, and dis-empowered fantasizing woman are considered as the extractions of the antifeminist/feminist prototype of the late '80s. However, it is important to notice that the structural basis of this new prototype still includes the good-girl versus bad-girl dualism instead of their integration.

Conclusion

Among a number of methods used in the study of films, the "image of woman model" which analyses the images of women reappeared with significant frequency through a historical pattern of representation not only gives a clear analysis of the individual movies but also deconstructs and reveals the inhibited message of the overall productions. By using this method, through the textual analysis of some critics, and my own observations on fifteen movies, I have given a systematic organization to the representations of women in films produced by Hollywood during the late '80s and into the '90s, which in turn assists women to see clearly Hollywood's intention in creating an antifeminist political, economic, and social policy such as budgetary cuts on women's educational and health issues and the invasion in women's personal life by male authorities passed by government during the late 1980s.

As was observed previously, archetype is an original form and model which creates myths, religions, and philosophies; thus, it redirects conscious thought and behavior characterizing the whole nations and epochs of history (Gupta 1987). In this study, I have identified nine female archetypes produced by Hollywood during the late '80s and into the '90s. Archetypes such as psychopathic career woman, sensual wife, asexual mother, rescued bimbo, gun-woman protector, self-destructive assertive woman, repressed unmarried woman, prostitute liberated woman, and dis-empowered fantasizing woman support what Faludi (1991) described as "Backlash against women's achievement." By creating its own language and representing a totally unpoliticized and distorted image of women's struggle and demand for equity and liberation, Hollywood idealized a dependent, passive, and manipulated version of womanhood to protect the survival and profit of a capitalistic patriarchal system.

While the backlash against women, enacted by Hollywood in the representation of women in films during the late '80s and into the '90s seems to appear unorganized on the surface, the identification of female archetypes represented in this study reveals the systematic methods and tactics with which Hollywood operated against women's awareness. Hollywood produced meanings, within a historical and social context, through its own specific codes of representation. In this study, I have demonstrated that the virgin/vamp prototype of the 1950s, because of the small advancement that women gained in the areas of career professionalism, social services, and sexual liberation, could not be used as a theme for women of the '80s and the '90s. Therefore, Hollywood replaced the virgin/vamp dichotomy with an antifeminist/feminist duality of the '80s and '90s instead of integrating dichotomies.

The notion of antifeminist/feminist dualism raised by Hollywood points to the fact that the backlash against women should have also affected other areas of women's representations and, overall, the whole issue of women's right. As Faludi (1991) suggested, the backlash started first in the 1970s with the evangelical right and gained political support in the '80s from the White House, and by the late '80s, it occurred in popular culture. This observation, specifically in the context of the identification of the female archetypes represented in this study, raise some further questions such as: What are the female archetypes in other fields of popular culture such as advertisement, novels, and TV shows? How do these archetypes relate to each other? Do race, social status, and age have any relation in the production and representation of female archetypes? If they have, what are the outcomes in different fields of popular culture? And finally, do these discoveries assist in better understanding and reacting against the backlash that Faludi has accurately described in the following statement:

> A backlash against women's rights succeeds to a degree that it appears not to be political or struggle at all. It is most powerful when it goes private, when it lodges inside a woman's mind and turns her vision inward, until she imagines the pressure is all in her head, until she begins to enforce the backlash too-on herself. (XXII)

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Chain Ownership, Organizational Prominence, and Editorial Role Perceptions

by

Roya Akhavan-Majid
Associate Professor

with

Timothy Boudreau
Doctoral Student

School of Journalism, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
Carbondale, IL 62901
Phone: (618) 536-3361

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Chain Ownership, Organizational Prominence, and Editorial role Perceptions

This study sought to illuminate the potential impact of chain ownership on newspaper content performance through an examination of the relationship between chain ownership and editorial role perceptions. More specifically, the study was designed to address the following questions:

1- Do the editors of chain owned newspapers hold systematically different perceptions regarding their editorial mission than their independent counterparts?

2- If so, what are the primary structural/organizational factors which may be responsible for such differences in editorial role perception?

Based on the 258 questionnaires returned by a nation-wide sample of daily newspaper editors, the study found the editors of the chain owned newspapers to be significantly more likely to subscribe to "participant" role perceptions than their independent counterparts. The tendency toward "participant" values, furthermore, became increasingly more pronounced as the chain organizations increased in size and prominence. Further analysis consistently showed the element of "organizational size and prominence" to be the primary factor responsible for the observed differences in editorial role peceptions.

For the last few decades, the rapid rise of newspaper chains in the United States has been an issue of primary concern to media critics. The growing concentration in newspaper ownership, the critics contend, will not only diminish the diversity of voices in the "free market-place of ideas," but may also have an adverse effect on the quality of the editorial product. In response to this concern, a number of empirical studies have sought to examine the impact of chain ownership not only on newspaper content, but also on a variety of content-related factors, such as opinion polling practices and use of library resources.[1] Despite its importance in shaping the character of newspaper content, however, no studies to date have explored the relationship between chain ownership and editorial role perceptions.

Do the editors of chain owned newspapers hold systematically different perceptions regarding their editorial mission than their independent counterparts? If so, what are the primary structural/organizational factors which may be responsible for such differences in editorial role perception? The present study is designed to address these questions.

As already mentioned, no studies to date have directly examined the relationship between chain ownership and editorial role perceptions. In an effort to establish a conceptual framework for predicting potential differences in role perception between the editors of chain owned and independent newspapers, however, one may look to a basic structural characteristic which tends to set chain newspaper organizations apart from their independent counterparts, namely "organizational prominence." Among the primary structural differences between chain and independent newspaper organizations, it may be argued, is the fact that, with few exceptions, most newspaper chain organizations tend to be larger (in terms of overall circulation as well as total number of employees) than their independent counterparts. This primary structural distinction, therefore, serves as a useful starting point for predicting and explaining differences in editorial role perceptions between chain and independent newspapers. Previous research on the relationship between "organizational prominence" and journalistic role perceptions, as well as research on the relationship between chain ownership and newspaper content performance, may thus be considered to provide conceptually relevant bases for hypothesis development in this study.

The most directly relevant piece of empirical evidence in this area comes from a classic study of journalistic role perceptions by Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman.[2] Focusing specifically on "participant" vs. "neutral" journalistic orientations [see definitions below], Johnstone et al. found evidence of a positive relationship between "organizational prominence" and "participant" journalistic orientations.[3] This finding was later confirmed by a secondary analysis of the Johnstone et al. data by Becker, Sobowale, and Cobbey in their study of organizational and professional commitment of journalists.[4] Thus, extrapolating from the Johnstone et al. data alone, one may expect the editors of the larger chain newspaper organizations to be more likely than those in the smaller chains and independent newspapers to subscribe to "participant" editorial values.

Among other conceptually related studies indicating a relationship between organizational size and prominence and editorial orientation is a study by Olien, Donohue, and Tichenor[5] which showed the editors of smaller community newspapers to be less willing than those in the metropolitan newspapers to report on local government conflict. Although the focus in this study was on community rather than newspaper organizational size, the authors reported a close association between community size and newspaper circulation size (contingency coefficient = .85).[6] The results of this study may, therefore, be considered to support the notion of a link between organizational size and the willingness of an editor to actively engage in commenting on political change and/or conflict. In a conceptually similar vein, a more recent study by Lacy and Bernstein[7] found that larger circulation papers devoted a greater percentage of their editorial and op-ed space (i.e., interpretive material) to editorials about their city/community than the smaller newspapers. These findings are in line with those of a study by Shapiro and Schofield[8], which found that of the two Miami newspapers (News and Herald) the larger paper (the Herald) gave a significantly higher level of interpretive coverage (defined as discussing causes and corrective action) to a major racial incident in the city.

Among previous studies addressing the impact of chain ownership on editorial content is a comparative study by Akhavan-Majid, Rife, and Gopinath[9] of the editorial positions taken by Gannett and non-Gannett paper on three controversial national issues. In addition to a high level of homogeneity in the Gannett editorial positions, the Akhavan-Majid et al. study found the Gannett papers to be far more likely than the non-Gannett papers to 1) editorialize on the three national issues under study and 2) oppose the positions taken, either by the administration in power (i.e., President Bush's nomination of Senator Tower for Secretary of Defense) or by the Supreme Court (i.e., Richmond Set Aside and Webster decisions). These findings may be considered to suggest a higher level of editorial "activism" on the part of the Gannett papers as compared to the non-Gannett papers. As such, the findings of this study may be considered to confirm the findings of previous research linking "organizational prominence" with "participant" editorial values.

On their face, the findings of the Akhavan-Majid et al. study seem to contradict the results of a study by Thrift[10] who found a decline in the "editorial vigor" of newspapers after they were acquired by a chain. Given the definition of "vigor" in Thrift's study as being one of editorial focus on a "local topic," however, the two studies may in fact be considered to point to a common conclusion, namely that chain newspapers tend to be more likely than independent newspapers to editorialize on national (as opposed to local) controversial issues.

Although a number of other studies have addressed the impact of chain ownership on various aspects of newspaper content -- from homogeneity of political endorsements[11] to the overall topical emphasis in the news coverage[12] -- none of these studies appear conceptually relevant to the purposes of this research. These studies, therefore, will not be enumerated in this review.

Overall, the empirical evidence produced by the previous studies reviewed above may be considered to point to a positive relationship between "organizational size and prominence" and "participant" editorial role perceptions.

At the theoretical level, the existence of a relationship between organizational prominence and participant editorial role perceptions may be explained on the basis of theories of power. An individual's perceptions of power, or sense of "empowerment," it may be argued, is likely to drive from association with a variety of power hierarchies in society. Though perhaps a less prominent factor than gender, race, and social class in shaping the individual's perceptions of power, close association with a powerful and prominent organization, such as a large newspaper organization, may be considered as an important source of perceived power among those serving in high-level positions in these organizations. Research in the field of public opinion, furthermore, has suggested that a person's perceptions of power may be an important determinant of a wide range of other basic attitudes and orientations. In her study of support for media and expressive rights, for example, Andsager found that those individuals who belonged to the most powerful (or "secure") demogrphic groups in society also reported the highest levels of support for expressive rights.[13] Extrapolating from these studies, a greater orientation on the part of the editors of larger news organizations toward "participant" role perceptions may be explained as a function of the higher levels of power associated with their position in these prominent organizations. Given their perceptions of "empowerment" to effect social change (or to counter it, as the case may be), in other words, the editors of the larger and more prominent chain news organizations may be more likely than their independent counterparts to subscribe to "participant" editorial values.

Based on the empirical evidence and conceptual clues provided by the studies discussed above, it was hypothesized in this study that:

H1- The editors of chain owned newspapers would be more likely than the editors of independent newspapers to subscribe to "participant" values.

H 2- Editors of larger newspaper chains would be more likely than the editors of smaller chains to hold "participant" values, and

H 3- Editors of larger circulation papers would be more likely than the editors of smaller circulation papers to subscribe to "participant" values.

"Organizational size and prominence" was operationalized in this study as a function of the *overall circulation size* of the chain organizations or the independent newspapers under study.

The definitions of the terms "participant," "neutral," and "adversarial" in the present study generally conform to those used in the previous studies by Johnstone et al. and Weaver and Wilhoit,[14] although several new conceptually related items have been added to the scale used in this study. The items on the scale defining the participant orientation are:

* investigate statements made by government officials
* provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems
* discuss national policy while it is still being developed
* provide critical evaluation of local government performance (new)
* promote social reform (new)
* function as a watchdog of people in positions of power (new)
* expose unethical practices of elected officials (new)
* function as a watchdog of business on behalf of consumers (new)

The items defining a neutral orientation are:

* get information to the public quickly
* concentrate on news of interest to the widest public
* provide entertainment and relaxation

The items defining an adversarial orientation are:

* function as an adversary of the government
* function as an adversary of big business

Aside from these three orientations, this study added a "globally conscious" category to the scale. This new category was considered to be closely related to the conceptual orientation reflected in the "participant" constellation of journalistic values. The items defining the globally conscious orientation are:

* create awareness about global problems
* raise consciousness about global interdependence

Method

In order to conduct the study, a systematic sample of 468 editors[15] was drawn, using the 1992 Editor and Publisher Yearbook . The sample was stratified by size, representing equal numbers of small (20,000 and below circulation) medium (20,001 to 70,000 circulation) and large (70,001 plus circulation) newspapers. A mail questionnaire was then designed, using a total of eight items from the role perception scales developed by Johnstone et al. and Weaver and Wilhoit, and seven additional items developed for this study. A response rate of 56% was achieved after two mailings.

Results

The results of this study suggest that chain ownership may have a strong influence on editorial role perceptions. They indicate, furthermore, that -- beyond the possible effects of hiring practices and editorial policies at the chain headquarters level -- the sheer "organizational size" of the chains may be the primary factor responsible for the observed differences in editorial role perception.

In the first bi-modal comparison of the chain owned and independent newspaper editors (Table 1), the chain owned newspaper editors scored consistently higher than the independent editors on the participant role perception items. However, only the differences on two of these items -- "Provide a critique of local government performance," and "Function as a watchdog of business on behalf of consumers"-- were significant at the .05 level. Further analysis suggests that the inclusion of the small chains in the overall "chain newspaper" category tended to mask major differences in role perceptions among editors of the larger chains and independent newspapers.

In order to better discern the differences among the editors of various chain sizes and independent organizations, the chain organizations were divided into small (.5 million or less circulation), medium (between .5 and 1.2 million circulation), and large (over 1.2 million circulation), and their editors compared to each other and to those in the independent newspaper organizations.

The results of the analysis showed clear similarities between editors of the small chain and independent newspaper organizations, on the one hand, and editors of the medium size and large newspaper chains, on the other (Table 2). The editors of the large and medium newspaper chains were significantly more likely than the small chain editors to endorse such participant roles as "Discuss national policy while it is being developed," "Promote social reform," and "Expose unethical practices of elected officials." Similarly, medium-size chain newspaper editors placed significantly higher emphasis than small chain editors on the "Investigate statements of government officials" item. Both large and medium chain editors differed significantly from small chain and independent editors on "Expose unethical practices of elected officials" and large chain editors were more likely than small chain editors to endorse such roles as "Function as an adversary of business" and "Function as a watchdog of people in positions of power." In addition, large chain editors were more likely than independent editors to emphasize "Function as a watchdog of business," and more likely than the medium and small chain editors to endorse such roles as "Watchdog of people in positions of power" and "Functions as an adversary of big business."

Having noted the pattern of similarity between the small chains and independent newspapers, on the one hand, and the large and medium-size newspaper chains, on the other, the four groups were then collapsed into two groups -- small chain/independent and large chain/medium chain, respectively -- and compared on editorial role perceptions (Table 4). As expected, the editors of large chain/medium chain organizations averaged consistently higher than those in the small chain/independent organizations on all of the participant items. With the exception of one item ("Function as an adversary of government"), all of these differences were significant at the .05 level.

If differences in chain size (as a reflection of differences in "organizational prominence") can lead to such clear differences in editorial role perceptions, one would expect the same to be true of variations in the size of individual newspaper organizations. In other words, if it is indeed the element of "organizational size" that is responsible for the observed differences in editorial role perceptions among various chain sizes and between the larger chains and the independent newspapers, then the same pattern should hold when newspapers are compared with respect to the size of the individual newspaper organization.

In order to further test the relationship between organizational size and editorial role perceptions at the individual newspaper level, the newspapers under study were re-grouped into large (above 70,000 circulation), medium (20,000 to 70,000) and small (below 20,000 circulation) newspapers and their editors compared on role perceptions. Once again, the analysis of variance showed the editors of the larger papers to be far more likely than those in the smaller newspapers to subscribe to participant editorial values (Table 5).

All possible pairs of newspapers (i.e., small vs. medium, medium vs. large, and small vs. large) were significantly different at the .05 level on "Discuss national policy," "Provide analysis and interpretation," and "Create awareness about global problems." The large newspapers, on the other hand, differed significantly from the medium and small newspapers on "Investigate statements of government officials," "Raise consciousness about global interdependence," and "Function as a watchdog of business."

These results appear to strongly confirm the hypothesized association between organizational size and editorial role perceptions, both when newspapers are grouped with respect to the overall size of the chain they belong to, and when they are considered with respect to their own circulation size. In general, the editors of the larger news organizations appear more likely to adopt a global view and show an interest in actively participating in investigating government policy and business-related issues and explaining them to the public as readers and consumers. Taken together, these results suggest that the editors of the largest newspapers within a large chain would be the most likely, and those working for small independent newspapers the least likely, to subscribe to participant editorial values.

Conclusion

This study has sought to examine the impact of chain ownership on editor role perceptions. In addition, it has sought to illuminate the primary structural factor which may be responsible for differences between chain owned and independent newspapers in editorial role perceptions.

Overall, the findings of this study point to a systematic difference between the editors of chain owned and independent newspapers in their role perceptions. These differences, furthermore, become increasingly more pronounced as the chain organizations increase in size and prominence. Given the similarities between editors of small chains and independent newspapers and the differences among the editors of small, medium, and large chain organizations, on the one hand, and the editors of small, medium, and large circulation newspapers, on the other, it is reasonable to assume that it is the element of "organizational size and prominence" which is primarily responsible for the observed differences in editorial role peceptions.

Clearly, the suggested tendency toward participant editorial values in large newspaper chain organizations can potentially be either reinforced, or inhibited, through hiring practices and editorial policies at the chain headquarters level. Should the large chain organizations choose to reinforce the structural pull toward participant values created by their organizational prominence, a potentially strong impact on the overall character of the news flow is likely to ensue. The precise nature and the level of social desirability of this impact, however, will depend largely on whether the nation's large and prominent newspaper chain organizations choose to harness their structurally determined editorial activism to promote their own ends or to serve the public interest.

Mean responses by ownership

	Ind.	**Chain**
Get information to the public quickly	3.73	3.80
Concentrate on news of interest to the widest public	3.48	3.48
Provide entertainment and relaxation	2.67	2.81
Discuss national policy while it is still being developed	3.00	3.08
Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems	3.36	3.40
Investigate statements made by government officials	3.27	3.30
Create awareness about global problems	2.82	2.83
Raise consciousness about global interdependence	2.32	2.47
Function as an adversary of the government	2.31	2.32
Function as an adversary of big business	1.84	1.95
Provide critical evaluation of local government performance*	3.50	3.67
Promote social reform	2.44	2.60
Function as a watchdog of people in positions of power	3.65	3.63
Expose unethical practices of elected officials	3.63	3.70
Function as a watchdog of business on behalf of consumers*	2.82	3.08
	(N=86)	(N=172)

* Indicates significance

T-test, $p < .05$

Table 1

Mean responses by size of chain and ownership

	L. Chain	M. Chain	S. Chain	Ind.
Get information to the public quickly	3.82	3.78	3.81	3.73
Concentrate on news of widest interest to the public	3.55	3.32	3.55	3.48
Provide entertainment and relaxation	2.83	2.80	2.80	2.67
Discuss national policy while it is still being dev.*	3.17	3.26	2.80	3.00
Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems *	3.49	3.50	3.20	3.36
Investigate statements made by government official*	3.40	3.42	3.09	3.27
Create awareness about global problems	2.92	2.94	2.61	2.82
Raise consciousness about global interdependence	2.59	2.48	2.33	2.32
Function as an adversary of the government	2.37	2.37	2.22	2.31
Function as an adversary of big business*	2.16	1.91	1.73	1.84
Provide critical evaluation of local government *	3.76	3.70	3.54	3.50
Promote social reform*	2.79	2.70	2.27	2.44
Function as a watchdog of people in positions of *	3.73	3.70	3.45	3.65
Expose unethical practices of elected officials*	3.74	3.88	3.50	3.63
Function as watchdog of business on behalf of c. *	3.23	3.08	2.89	2.82
	(N=67)	(N=50)	(N=55)	(N=86)

* Indicates significance

ANOVA, $p < .05$

Table 2

Mean responses of large/med. chains vs. small chain/ind.

	L/M	S/Ind.
Get information to the public quickly	3.80	3.76
Concentrate on news of interest to the widest public	3.45	3.51
Provide entertainment and relaxation	2.82	2.72
Discuss national policy while it is still being developed*	3.21	2.92
Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems*	3.49	3.30
Investigate statements made by government officials*	3.41	3.20
Create awareness about global problems	2.93	2.74
Raise consciousness about global interdependence*	2.54	2.32
Function as an adversary of the government	2.37	2.28
Function as an adversary of big business*	2.06	1.80
Provide critical evaluation of local government performance*	3.73	2.52
Promote social reform*	2.75	2.38
Function as a watchdog of people in positions of power*	3.71	3.57
Expose unethical practices of elected officials*	3.80	3.58
Function as a watchdog of business on behalf of consumers*	3.17	2.85
	(N=117)	(N=141)

* Indicates significance

T-test, $p < .05$

Table 3

Mean responses by newspaper size

	Small	Medium	Large
Get information to the public quickly	3.81	3.80	3.74
Concentrate on news of widest interest to the public	3.52	3.43	3.52
Provide entertainment and relaxation	2.64	2.82	2.81
Discuss national policy while it is still being developed *	2.55	3.06	3.37
Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems *	2.98	3.38	3.68
Investigate statements made by government officials *	3.11	3.29	3.43
Create awareness about global problems *	2.44	2.85	3.09
Raise consciousness about global interdependence *	2.23	2.38	2.60
Function as an adversary of the government	2.31	2.42	2.25
Function as an adversary of big business	1.83	1.95	1.99
Provide critical evaluation of local government performance	3.59	3.66	3.59
Promote social reform	2.53	2.49	2.64
Function as a watchdog of people in positions of power	3.58	3.62	3.70
Expose unethical practices of elected officials	3.63	3.67	3.74
Function as watchdog of business on behalf of consumers *	2.98	2.86	3.15
	(N=64)	(N=99)	(N=96)

* Indicates significance

ANOVA, $p< .05$

Table 4

Notes

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15- After accounting for the non-delivered mail due to newspaper closures and "no forwarding address," the size of the original sample was reduced to 464.

Appendix

Editorial role perceptions scale

1- How important do you consider each of the following tasks to be in your job as a newspaper editor?

Not important at all	Somewhat important	Quite important	Extremely important
1	2	3	4

Get information to the public quickly	1	2	3	4
Concentrate on news of interest to the widest public	1	2	3	4
Provide entertainment and relaxation	1	2	3	4
Discuss national policy while it is still being developed	1	2	3	4
Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems	1	2	3	4
Investigate statements made by government officials	1	2	3	4
Create awareness about global problems	1	2	3	4
Raise consciousness about global interdependence	1	2	3	4
Function as an adversary of the government	1	2	3	4
Function as an adversary of big business	1	2	3	4
Provide critical evaluation of local government performance	1	2	3	4
Promote social reform	1	2	3	4
Function as a watchdog of people in positions of power	1	2	3	4
Expose unethical practices of elected officials	1	2	3	4
Function as a watchdog of business on behalf of consumers	1	2	3	4

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COMPANIONSHIP IN THE CLASSIFIEDS: THE ADOPTION OF PERSONAL ADVERTISEMENTS BY DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Debra L. Merskin
University of Oregon
Mara Huberlie
Syracuse University

COMPANIONSHIP IN THE CLASSIFIEDS: THE ADOPTION OF PERSONAL ADVERTISEMENTS BY DAILY NEWSPAPERS

ABSTRACT

This study investigates advertising for romantic partners in the daily newspaper. A telephone survey of U.S. daily newspapers shows that mate-finding is becoming a matter of mediated information, suggesting a new function for the media. Media dependency theory predicts that individuals will tend to turn to the mass media for this information. The adoption of innovation model explains the process needed to do so.

COMPANIONSHIP IN THE CLASSIFIEDS: THE ADOPTION OF PERSONAL ADVERTISEMENTS BY DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Finding a romantic partner is an age-old process. In modern times, finding a partner has become complicated by urbanization and social and geographic mobility. This has resulted in a loss of personal contacts for locating and identifying eligible others. Consequently, many singles have turned to less personal means of securing a partner.

Today, opportunities for meeting others can be found in the daily newspaper. This medium is relied upon as a source of many kinds of important information, such as identifying employment opportunities, locating housing, and now, finding a partner. This change from traditional means of securing a partner in the United States suggests that mass media serve a new function--that of interpersonal intermediary.

Few studies have looked at dependency on the mass media as a part of everyday life. This study suggests that media dependency theory predicts the use of the mass media for mate-seeking, in the absence of other more personal sources of information. A telephone survey was conducted among 67 metropolitan daily newspapers. The findings describe how daily newspapers have responded to readers needs by adding personal advertisements to their repertoire of features.

BACKGROUND

Clearly, whatever form courtship, betrothal and marriage take within different cultures, their function is to mark the passage from one status to another, such as from youth to maturity, outsideness to belonging, and aloneness to companionship. The importance of marriage changes as societies become increasingly industrialized, urbanized and modernized.

Searching for Companionship.

Methods of mate-seeking vary by culture. In many cases, parents select partners for their children. For example, in traditional Arab society, systems of infant betrothal and cross-cousin marriage are not uncommon .[1] In traditional/tribal societies, such as that of the Trobriand

Islanders, partner selection is left largely to the whims of youth. According to Malinowski, young persons in this society cohabitate to find compatible partners. Among the Yanomama Indians of the Amazon, securing wives is often accomplished through acquisitions of women by force from other tribes.[2]

In many societies, the role of matchmaker is important. Japan has a particularly long tradition of matchmaking, facilitated by an individual known as the *nakado*. The *nakado* is responsible for introducing prospective partners to one another, for carrying on background investigations, and for officiating at the marriage ceremony. According to Dore, the arranged marriage (*miai-kekkon*) means that the parties have been brought together expressly to be married on the initiative of parents, a friend of the family or by way of a go-between.[3] Evidence that this system is still in use was the 1993 marriage of Japan's Prince Naruhito to Masako Owada.[4]

Another well-known example of the arranged marriage can be found in Jewish culture. Marriage is one of the most important milestones in the lives of Jewish men and women. A matchmaker (*shadkan*) often arranges meetings between young people. Popular portrayals, such as in the film Crossing Delancey and in plays such as Fiddler on the Roof and Hello, Dolly!, depict the duties of this individual.

Throughout the world, drastic changes have been taking place in the ways in which people select mates. Some say that parental involvement is declining, or even extinct, and that individual choice is an increasingly preferred method of finding a partner. According to Murstein, factors related to the rise of self-selection are urban living, industrialization, changes in religion, declining influence of parental control, and later age at marriage.[5]

The Role of the Mass Media

Changes in mate-selection are related to changes in society. One of the most important changes to society in the last 200 years has been industrialization. Several 19th century theorists anticipated industrialization and predicted that this process would have a variety of effects on society. According to Comte, as specialized functions grow, and ineffective social organizations fail to provide adequate linkages between people, the individual becomes isolated from others.

Social groups begin to play a lesser role, leading eventually to the notion of the "lonely crowd," which is identified by feelings of isolation, loneliness, and unhappiness.

Spencer suggested that specialization is a natural, evolutionary outgrowth of industrial society and that "society undergoes continuous growth." As society grows, its parts become dissimilar.[6] Tönnies' theory of social bonds portrayed a pre-industrial society existing in a state of "Gemeinschaft," of "reciprocal binding sentiment." This condition would be replaced by an industrial society called "Gesellschaft," characterized by "reciprocal binding contract." This later stage was described as featuring impersonality, anonymity, social distance, distrust and isolation.[7] The accompanying division of labor would also increase social individuality.

Durkheim suggested that society would thrive on specialization, but concurred with his peers that there would be social consequences. Suggesting that the conditions of solidarity would vary, Durkheim proposed that the division of labor that produces solidarity would increase social individuality. As a result, the individual in such a mass society becomes subject to psychological isolation, reduced effective interpersonal communication, an increase in confusion and ambivalence--a state called anomie.[8] Individuals become confused about how to interact with the world around them and close and intimate ties between people are reduced. This lessens influences from interpersonal communication and leaves the individual more vulnerable to influences from other sources such as the mass media.

A theory that incorporates the mass society concept is media dependency theory.[9] This theory suggests that as a society becomes more complex and there are fewer traditional, interpersonal routes available to individuals for solving problems, they tend to turn to the mass media for that information.[10] DeFleur defines dependency as "a relationship in which the satisfaction of needs or the attainment of goals by one party is contingent upon the resources of another party."[11]

Media dependency can be defined as "a relationship in which the capacity of individuals to attain their goals is contingent upon the information resources of the media system."[12] The basic propositions of the theory are that people in all societies need information to make numerous decisions about political affairs, to obtain food, shelter and transportation and to find a mate. In traditional societies, people tend to pursue similar ways of life and are linked by word-of-mouth networks of extended families, long-term neighbors and other channels from which they obtain the information they need. In urban-industrial societies, dissimilar populations are brought together, despite differences in ethnicity, occupational specialization, and economic class. Because of this social differentiation, there is a weakening of effective word-of-mouth channels based on deeply established social ties through which people can obtain the information they need in daily life. Therefore, people in these societies become dependent upon mass communications for information needed to make decisions.[13]

In a modern urban-industrial society, such as in the United States, the media system is part of the social fabric. The key relationships are based on dependency, which may be with the entire media system or with a particular medium, such as television or newspapers. According to Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur, as the quality of the media improve technologically, the media assume more and more unique information functions. These functions include the gathering, processing and delivery of information.[14] Lasswell wrote in 1948 that the media serve three functions within American society: (1) surveillance of the environment, (2) correlation of the parts of society responding to the environment, and (3) transmission of the social heritage from one generation to the next.[15] Wright added a fourth function to this array, entertainment.[16] As changes in society have occurred along with industrialization, such as increases in social conflict and social change, individuals rely on the mass media to reduce resultant feelings of ambiguity. The media provide new methods of answering questions associated with the problems of daily life. This has occurred before in newspapers, when features such as advertising, entertainment, gossip, political analysis, comics and advice columns arose to usurp such functions previously fulfilled through interpersonal means.

Mate Finding in Modern Society

A successful life in a complex society requires that individuals rely upon others to attain both personal and collective goals. Traditionally, channels of communication have been based on interpersonal relationships as is found between parent and child, neighbor and neighbor, clergy and parishioner, or teacher and student. The concept of opinion leadership is related to these interactions. Individuals tend to seek out others whom they feel are knowledgeable about particular topics. Lazarsfeld et al., suggested that ordinary people identify with people who are (1) knowledgeable, (2) trustworthy, (3) available, and (4) acceptable.[17] A person interested in finding a mate might analyze where they could find the necessary information to meet someone. He or she may ask a neighbor; his or her mother or father may invite someone to dinner; two people might meet in church.

Up until recently, such informal methods have been sufficient. However, several changes in society have led to the break-up of traditional patterns: (1) families have become disrupted, (2) people have become increasingly geographically mobile, (3) society has become increasingly racially and ethnically diverse, and (4) society has become increasingly specialized in its occupational roles and social status. Therefore, it has become more difficult to breach barriers to interpersonal interaction. According to Schudson, relationships with people who helped socialize the individual have become weakened.

> The rules, norms, attitudes, and behaviors that to the child seemed natural, seem foreign to the adult who has moved away. What was internalized is now seen as external, arbitrary, even alien. The individual is separated from the past. Therefore, they tend to rely more and more on the mass media to serve these needs and a dependency develops.[18]

Some methods for locating romantic partners, such as singles bars, have become unacceptable to many. This is due, at least in part, to rising concerns over sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS, limits on free time, and decreasing acceptance of social drinking. For many years advertising for companionship carried a similar stigma--"a discrediting attribute" that suggested desperate and even deviate behavior.[19]. Personal ads have historically had a seedy image, mainly due to their association with the alternative press such as the Village Voice and the Berkeley Barb. According to the Chicago Tribune:

> The increased volume [of personal ads] is in part a measure of the increasing respectability of finding a date through ads or services. No longer reserved for seedy types looking for one ([or] two or three) kindred spirits for some kinky fun, everyone from church-going single mothers to university professors are signing up.[20]

Even today some stigma remains. Several recent movies and television dramas have stressed that finding companions through ads is dangerous. For example, in the film Sea of Love, Al Pacino portrays a police officer investigating the murders of men who advertised in the personal ads.[21] A 1993 made-for-television movie (Dying to Love You) describes the story of a woman who uses personal ads to lure wealthy male companions whom she would murder for their money.[22]

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This study investigates the presence of media dependency in everyday life. Media dependency theory predicts that as traditional systems of mate-finding became inadequate in a mass society, the media will take on that role as it becomes socially acceptable. Previous studies on media dependency theory have focused primarily on quasi-experimental situations in which dependence on the media was measured under circumstances of natural disasters. For example, Hirshburg, et al.., found that the media were the primary information source used by persons at the 1980 Mount Saint Helens volcano eruption and that individuals continued to rely on the media to reduce feelings of ambiguity associated with the experience.[23] Donlon and Roush studied the tendency for people to turn to the media during the 1986 U.S. attack on Libya.[24] A dependency theory framework was used by Nigg to describe the seeking of earthquake forecasting information from the media. In their study of the mass media in earthquake warnings, Turner and Paz found low reliance on interpersonal channels consistent with media dependency theory.[25]

In the Great American Values Test, Ball-Rokeach, et al.., found that television was implicated in all of the dependency types and that watching even a small amount of television could alter beliefs, related attitudes and behavior.[26] Grant, et al.. discovered that genre dependency plays a central role in television shopping behavior.[27] Becker and Whitney demonstrated that individuals can become dependent on a particular medium for information and that people who are dependent upon different media tend to have different views of the world.[28] Champaigne-Alman discovered that foreign-born individuals who immigrate to the U.S. tend to rely on the mass media of the host culture, particularly television, and tend to use that media before arrival.[29]

Other researchers have also drawn upon media dependency theory under experimental conditions. Miller and Reese found that the more an individual depends on a particular medium, the more likely it is that a message contained within that medium will have its intended effect.[30] Gaziano's study of dependency stressed that individuals are located in specific social environments. The researcher found evidence that people depend on media other than television and that dependence might be more a factor of lifestyles and social roles.[31]

To date, little research has focused on the presence of media dependence in everyday life. Previous studies have focused on media dependency in the context of natural disasters, under conditions of migration, or under specific conditions such as concerns over politics or health. This study examines media dependency as a naturally occurring phenomenon under the conditions present in industrial society.

Adoption of Personals

Media dependency theory stresses the tripartite relationship of media, audience and society. Media dependency is bi-directional. Just as individuals become increasingly reliant on the media, the media also rely on society. The media, therefore, have to adapt to perceived needs and interests of their audience.

Rogers' adoption of innovation model suggests that ideas, practices or objects which are perceived as new are selected and used as the best option available.[32] The adoption of innovations in modern society suggests choices which help to solve the problems of daily life for individuals and organizations. Previous studies have shown that the adoption of an innovation follows an S-shaped cumulative curve. The reason for the normal S-shaped curve is based upon the role of information and uncertainty reduction. Adopter categories can be set forth as ideal types on an innovativeness continuum. The types are innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority and laggards. In all of these categories, opinion leadership plays an important role.

Although discussion of the adoption of innovations tends to focus primarily on the individual, organizations also adopt. Examples include computerization of government offices, computerized photographic feeds of newspapers, and technology in schools.

As well as being a sign of changing lifestyles, personal advertisements that use voice mail also represent the adoption of a technological innovation for the newspaper industry. These ads are a new function for the daily press, evolving out of people's basic information needs. As individuals in a mass society come to rely on the media for the information they need, the media will respond by redefining themselves through the adoption of new communications technologies. The adoption of personal advertisements to the repertoire of products featured in the evolving daily press, newspapers have had to face questions about the proper role of the newspaper in a changing society. Just as the conditions of industrial society suggest that individuals will turn to the mass media for information, adoption of innovation provides an explanation of how this takes place in the newspaper industry.

Few studies have investigated personal advertisements from a mass communications or theory-oriented perspective. Previous research has come primarily from the disciplines of family studies, sociology, and, to a lesser extent, marketing. Studies have focused on physical appearance of advertisers and partners,[33] age,[34] deviance,[35] psychological balancing,[36] gender differences,[37] stereotyping,[38] a marketing perspective,[39] and the bargaining processes involved.[40]

This study is not a formal test of either dependency or adoption theory. Rather, these theories serve as general frameworks suggesting that: (1) the use of personal advertisements will spread because of the dependency function, and (2) newspapers' adoption of personal advertisements will follow an s-shaped curve similar to the diffusion of many other innovations.

Two research questions were posited with respect to each theoretical perspective: (1) To what extent have newspapers actually begun to provide personal advertisements? and (2) What pattern did the adoptions follow over time? Additional information was sought about the reasons newspapers have added the ads, methods of responding to the ads, and the physical characteristics of this section of the newspaper.

METHOD

A telephone survey was conducted to measure the extent of the adoption of personal advertisements by daily newspapers. The sampling frame consisted of 268 newspapers with circulations of 50,000 or more as listed in Editor & Publisher Yearbook, 1991. A random sample of 67 newspapers was drawn using the systematic skip interval method.

From November 1992 to May 1993, classified managers were interviewed at each of the 67 newspapers. A 100 percent response rate was achieved. The newspaper managers were called during regular business hours, typically in mid-afternoon when pressure from deadlines was less likely to interfere. Occasionally, reaching the right person to interview was difficult. At a California paper, the interviewer was connected with seven different people before finally reaching the appropriate person. Approximately two to three calls were necessary to complete each interview. Two newspapers refused to answer the questions by phone but did reply via fax. These representatives were asked questions, following a ten-item questionnaire, about whether or not the newspaper was running voice personals and if so, the year of adoption. Additional questions addressed any criteria used in accepting or rejecting ads, such as those from gays/lesbians or "alternative lifestyle" ads. Other questions concerned the mechanics of the ads, the days of the week the ads were run, how responses were made to the ads, what costs were involved and how responses were made. A tearsheet was requested from each paper to verify these replies.

FINDINGS

Nearly four out of five (55) of the newspapers were carrying personal advertisements, as Table 1 shows. An additional 11 percent of the dailies said they had plans to add the personals within the next few months. Five newspapers were not carrying dating ads, nor did they indicate having any plans for doing so.

Table 1

NEWSPAPER ADOPTION OF THE PERSONALS

	Frequency	Percent
Carries	55	82.1
Plans to add	7	10.4
No plans to carry	5	7.5
	67	100.0

Table 2 shows nearly two-thirds of the newspapers began running the ads between 1991 and May of 1993.

Table 2

YEAR OF ADOPTION OF THE PERSONALS

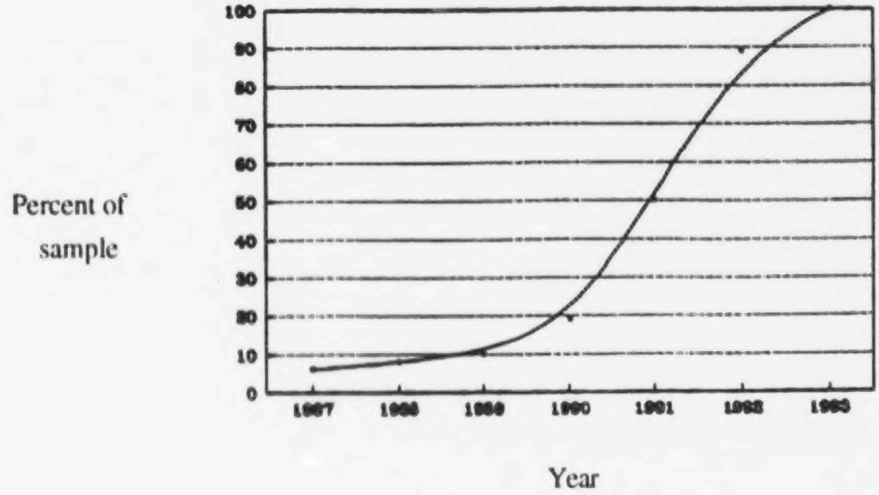
Year	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
1993	6	10.9	100
1992	21	38.1	89.1
1991	17	30.9	50.9
1990	6	10.9	20.0
1989	1	1.8	9.1
1988	1	1.8	7.3
1987	3	5.5	5.5
Total	55	100.0	

Figure 1 shows that the cumulative diffusion curve follows a classic S-shaped pattern.

Figure 1

CUMULATIVE ADOPTION OF PERSONAL ADVERTISEMENTS BY NEWSPAPERS

1987 - 1993



More than one third of personal ads sections (36 percent) occupied one-half to one page of space. Another third of the papers filled 1 to 2 pages. Two newspapers (3 percent) had personal ads sections of three pages or larger while the remainder of the papers had sections of one-half a page or less. Nearly two-thirds of the newspapers ran the personals in a full-sized section of the newspaper while a smaller percentage presented the personals in tabloid inserts.

More than a third of the dailies (36 percent) ran the ads on Fridays, Saturdays and/or Sundays. Approximately 27 percent of the papers ran the ads on some combination of weekdays and about a quarter of the papers ran the ads seven days per week. A few papers had other arrangements.

Newspapers also varied in the types of advertisements they would accept. As Table 3 reveals, more than half (59.7 percent) would not accept gay ads. Most (80.6 percent) would not accept "alternative lifestyle" ads, such as those seeking multiple partners or more exotic variations.

More than two-thirds of the newspapers applied their own criteria to screening the language of the ads while 22 percent relied on a voice mail service to perform this task.

Table 3

ACCEPTANCE POLICY

	Frequency	Percent
Accepts gay ads	27	40.3*
Does not accept gay ads	40	59.7
Accepts alternative lifestyle ads	13	19.4
Does not accept alternative lifestyle	54	80.6

* Newspapers may have a combination of these policies, totals therefore do not equal 100%.

Voice mail was found to be the most common method of responding to personals (79 percent). Only nine papers offered the more traditional way of responding, which is by letter only (13.4 percent). Frequently, the daily newspaper was not the only local publication carrying the personals. Two-thirds of the papers surveyed had competition from another local paper for personal advertisers (66 percent).

Although most of the newspapers surveyed would not reveal detailed financial information, almost half of the papers indicated that the ads had been a financial success. According to one manager, the paper receives approximately 300 ads per month and that the average time spent responding is 3 minutes at a cost of $1.95 per minute. Even if the advertiser's ad is free, each ad generates approximately $108. This would result in revenues of over $30,000 per month or roughly $400,000 per year. Another paper indicated that their take was over $500,000 during the same period. The amount of revenue generated is likely to vary with market size, promotional efforts, and amount of repeat business.

Many papers have invested in their own voice mail hardware. Others rely on vendors. The financial success of the personals has been a selling point for the many voice mail vendors involved in the personal ads business. Although this study did not specifically investigate the involvement of vendors, many representatives mentioned that the work load (and the revenue) are shared with a vendor. Often, these companies manage the advertising placement, response retrieval, and reply process. Most vendors represent more than one newspaper. Compensation arrangements vary. For example, one newspaper representative indicated her paper takes 90 percent of the revenue generated from the ads and the vendor retains 10 percent.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The findings suggest that the increasing trend of personal ad use by both newspapers and individuals is a result of changing social and cultural conditions in modern society. As traditional ways in which people can find and locate others who can fulfill their social and sexual needs decline, the media--and especially the classified section of the daily newspaper--take on this important function. According to Adelman and Aaron, the aim of personal advertising is to expand the number of eligible others, whether in print, by computer, or through dating services. As a result, individuals frequently use the mass media to position the single's search as a consumer activity.[41]

Daily newspapers' adoption of these ads begins with, but goes beyond, the need to raise revenue. At an increasing rate, daily newspapers are carrying these "self"-advertisements in the classified section of the paper as a response to the perceived needs of their subscribers at a time when targeting sections of the paper to appeal to the interests of an increasingly fragmented audience is mandatory for financial survival.

Among the newspapers surveyed, three primary reasons were given for adding personal ads: (1) revenue, (2) readership, and (3) service. Voice personal advertisements also represent newspaper industry experiments with innovations. Also, the public's information needs are changing. Newspapers face stiff competition from television, particularly for the attention of young people. Many of the newspapers surveyed have adopted the personals to attract this younger audience. This has not been the case--the most frequent users of personal ads are women over the age of 35. Yet the inclusion of personals in the daily paper has appealed to a wider group of users--those who simply enjoy reading the ads for entertainment. These folks aren't necessarily seeking a dating partner but enjoy reading this part of the paper as "breakfast table voyeurs."

This study demonstrates that daily newspapers have adopted the personals widely, recently and rapidly. Among the dailies studied, 82 percent were carrying the ads and most had adopted them within the last three years. The adoption followed the s-shaped diffusion curve, as predicted by Rogers.[42]

Not all of the dailies surveyed (8 percent) were carrying the personals. Representatives of these newspapers provided several reasons for this decision. One individual indicated that since the newspaper had undergone a recent ownership change, the new owners had discontinued them, thinking the personals were not "in good taste". He further stated that the paper's image "is that of a small family newspaper and the newspaper owners felt the information in those ads did not mesh with their image." Another paper worried about "protecting the reader" from "this kind of thing". One individual felt that meeting others is a "private matter," inappropriate for the press. This same individual did point out that her paper is starting to recognize that "lifestyles have changed and it (personal ads) is a valuable service, but we are responsible first to our readers, then to our advertisers."

This study explored the adoption of personal advertisements by daily newspapers. The use of personal advertisements by individuals for dating is predicted by media dependency theory. As society continues to become more complex, and individuals become more isolated, methods of finding partners will further become the responsibility of the individual and off less concern to the family. Therefore, as traditional mechanisms for partner selection continue to drift away, men and women will turn to the mass media to seek eligible others. Faced with real financial threats, the daily press will respond in kind by providing this service to readers as well as creating a new revenue base for itself. The pattern of adoption of the ads by daily newspapers can be predicted by the adoption of innovation model.

As societies become more urbanized, modernized, and industrialized (i.e., more complex), the individual is less able to rely on sources of information for assistance in answering important questions and making life decisions. With many roots to the past essentially severed, people become more dependent on those around them. If these other people are unfamiliar or unapproachable, the individual is more likely to identify with that which is familiar: the media. Together this information provides evidence for proposing a fifth function of the media--a dependency function of interpersonal intermediary. In this role the media act as agents between individuals in the absence of traditional informal sources of information.

Severin and Tankard suggest that the media dependency model may provide a synthesizing framework within which other theories can be understood, including cultivation and agenda-setting.[43] Research has also indicated that dependency on the media may depend upon that individual's location in the social system. Future studies could explore this possibility. Research could also explore the changing role of the daily press, the organizational adoption of innovation process, the legal implications of advertising acceptance criteria and the gay community, how the media respond to social change, and the relationship of the media to the audience. In addition, survey research could be conducted with those that place personal ads. This study suggests that personal advertisements are a rich source of information about people and what they are looking for in a partner as well as offering a source of documentation of social change.

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Ethics of the Fictional Journalist:
How Novelists Portray Decisionmaking in the News Business

a research essay by
Jay Black
Poynter-Jamison Chair in Media Ethics
University of South Florida—St. Petersburg
St. Petersburg, FL 33701
(813) 893-9579

Submitted to the Mass Communications and Society Division open papers competition, AEJMC National Convention, Atlanta, GA, August, 1994.

Ethics of the Fictional Journalist:
How Novelists Portray Decisionmaking in the News Business

Abstract

Journalists frequently appear in novels as protagonists who can advance plot lines because of their unique roles in society and their capacity as change agents. Although scholars have analyzed journalism fiction, they have done little to systematically analyze the protagonists' ethics.

In this research essay fifty novels with journalism protagonists are analysed in terms of how journalists define professional roles and rules and how they handle personal and institutional ethics conflicts while dealing with questions of full-disclosure reporting, maintaining independence, minimizing harm, and seeking accuracy and fairness, objectivity, and truthtelling. Characters and plot lines are introduced, passages cited, and conclusions drawn.

A general reader of such novels might conclude that journalism is by an large an amoral enterprise; at best, it wallows somewhere in the ethical bog of egoism, subjectivism, and relativism/situationalism. When the occasional journalists of principle are portrayed, motivated by virtue and a sense of duty, they usually are seen in conflict with their own management, and usually at odds with their community.

The novels reviewed for this project are taken from lists suggested by earlier critics, augmented by the author's own collection used for several terms when teaching a course in "The Journalist in Fiction and Film." (202 words)

a research essay by
Jay Black
Poynter-Jamison Chair in Media Ethics
University of South Florida—St. Petersburg
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Abstract

Fifty novels with journalism protagonists are analysed in terms of how journalists define professional roles and rules and how they handle personal and institutional ethics conflicts while dealing with questions of full-disclosure reporting, maintaining independence, minimizing harm, and seeking accuracy and fairness, objectivity, and truthtelling. The conclusion a reader of such novels might draw is that journalism is amoral; at best, it wallows somewhere in the ethical bog of egoism, subjectivism, and relativism/situationalism. (75 words)

a research essay by
Jay Black
Poynter-Jamison Chair in Media Ethics
University of South Florida—St. Petersburg
St. Petersburg, FL 33701
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Setting the Stage

From the mouth of Small Maria, a 16-year-old prostitute and blooming revolutionary who tends the dying Ambrose Bierce in Daniel Lynch's novel of yellow journalism, comes the following anecdote:

> "A rabbit and a rattlesnake, each sightless since birth, bump into one another in the desert. The rattlesnake says, 'what sort of animal are you?' And the rabbit replies, 'I do not know. I have never seen myself.' The rattlesnake says, 'I, too, know not what I am. Let us rub our bodies together to see if we can help one another determine our species.' When they had touched intimately, the rattlesnake says, 'You are round and furry, with large ears. You must be a rabbit. But what am I?' And the rabbit says, 'You are cold and scaly with beady eyes and no balls. Your chest is too small for much of a heart. You must be a journalist.'
>
> —Daniel Lynch, *Yellow*. New York: Walker and Company, 1992, p. 135.

Introduction

In the century or so since Kirk Munroe wrote *Under Orders: The Story of a Young Reporter*,[1] as many as three thousand novels have been written with journalists as protagonists. At least, that's how many Southbridge, Massachusetts newspaper editor Loren Ghiglione has managed to collect so far; he says[2] he has no idea how vast his library will be before he gives up the hunt. Ghiglione, who assembled an exhibit on the American journalist for the Library of Congress and wrote *The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press*[3], will soon teach a course at Harvard University based on his collection. Another impressive set of novels in which journalists play a central role—more than five hundred—has been assembled by Steve Weinberg, journalism professor at the University of Missouri and former director of Investigative Reporters and Editors. Like Ghiglione, Weinberg has written with some passion about the lessons to be learned from this body of literature.[4] At least one scholarly book has been written on the journalism novei (Howard Good's *Acquainted With The Night*[5]), and several graduate theses have been completed in recent years.

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[1] Kirk Monroe, *Under Orders: The Story of a Young Reporter* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1890).

[2] Personal conversation with the author, May, 1993.

[3] Loren Ghiglione, *The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1990). See also Ghiglione, "Fact vs. fiction: Who is the real small-town journalist?" *The* (Southbridge, Mass.) *News*, Sept. 11, 1992, pp. 1-12.

[4] Steve Weinberg, "The Journalist in Novels," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, Fall/Winter 1986-87, pp. 89-103; and "My White Whale, or the Great Newspaper Novel," *New York Times Book Review*, Aug. 27, 1988, pp. 1, 24-25.

The occasional piece of scholarly and popular writing on the journalist in fiction has tended to focus on a variety of themes or characteristics of journalists, all of them highly stereotypical: the intrepid reporter—usually male, divorced, and with a drinking problem—who takes on crime and corruption and wins the Pulitzer Prize and/or moves on to edit his own small paper; the gonzo photographer, whose quest to capture "the decisive moment" generally entails personal danger and intrustion into moments of private grief; the small-town journalist, who serves the public interest, whether or not the community appreciates it; the stereotypical editor, typecast in either the fatherly Lou Grant mold or as a curmudgeonly mid-level manager; the Horatio Alger-esque paper carrier, whose work ethic propels him or her to riches; the tough and tormented newswoman, who either gets to the top by practicing "horizontal journalism" or otherwise manages to survive in a male-dominated business; the scandalmonger, who breaks all social rules to pander gossip to the masses; the war correspondent, who puts life in danger to report foreign intrigue; the television journalist, whose glamorous (but often superficial) lifestyle permits movement among the movers and shakers; and the news media owners, who are either community heroes or unconscionable megalomaniacs. It is little wonder the fictional journalist is a ready-made protagonist for novelists who seek to portray interesting characters in a variety of conflict situations. Few occupational roles lend themselves to such treatment, and few novelists can write with insight and passion about their own professions as effectively and naturally as journalists can write about theirs.

Whether journalists should be depicted in gross stereotypes is a question worth raising. Weinberg has written[6] that journalism is seldom the subject of serious literature, and that most journalism novels have given readers a distorted notion of the field. Millions of readers who are interested in journalism but who have limited first-hand experience with how the profession operates have probably formed distorted opinions about the field if their primary exposure is through these books. Some of the books have been bestsellers, in hardback and paperpack: Irving Wallace's *The Almighty,*[7] Arnaud De Borchgrave and Robert Moss's *The Spike,*[8] John Grisham's *Pelican Brief,*[9] Arthur Hailey's *The Evening*

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[5] Howard Good, *Acquainted With The Night: The Image of Journalists in American Fiction, 1890-1930* (Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1986).

[6] Weinberg, *op. cit.*

[7] Irving Wallace, *The Almighty* (New York: Dell, 1982).

[8] Arnaud De Borchgrave and Robert Moss, *The Spike* (New York: Avon: 1980).

[9] John Grisham, *The Pelican Brief* (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

News,[10] John Katzenbach's *In the Heat of the Summer* and *Just Cause,*[11]and Tom Wolfe's *Bonfire of the Vanities*[12] are examples. The journalistic protagonists in these books are not necessarily the sorts of folks you would want your children to grow up and emulate. They may be people of action, and they may bring about some social good, but on the whole they are not moral heroes.

Although much has been written about journalism fictional characters, little has been done to systematically analyze their ethics[13]. Over the past decade or so, the author of this paper[14] has been intrigued by the ethical dilemmas presented in a personal collection of two-hundred or so books that has been acquired, one book at a time, from book stores and other outlets (because most of the books in this genre are often referred to as "junk novels," they typically are to be found in used book stores; many are out of print within a year of publication). In several terms of teaching a seminar titled "The Journalist in Film and Fiction," the author has focused students' attention on the social roles of journalists, the ethical dilemmas faced by them, and the justifications used to defend their resolution of such dilemmas.

The present paper limits itself to an introduction of ethical dilemmas raised in fifty novels in which journalists are central characters. The list of novels reveiwed begins with and builds upon the books discussed by Weinberg in his *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* and *New York Times Book Review* articles, given that Weinberg scoured his massive collection and indicated which books best offered insights into journalism ethics. Later books, published subsequent to Weinberg's essays and including many from Ghiglione's list,[15] have been selected for treatment in this essay because 1) news decisionmaking plays a central role in plot advancement, and 2) central characters articulate their ethical dilemmas. Readers of this paper should know, up front, that this is not a scientific content analysis of the entire body of literature, but, in the tradition of literature and popular studies research, it is an attempt to exercise judgment about dominant themes appearing in available selected works.

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[10] Arthur Hailey, *The Evening News* (New York: Doublday, 1990).

[11] John Katzenbach, *In the Heat of the Summer* (New York: Ballentine, 1982); and *Just Cause* (New York: Putnam, 1992).

[12] Tom Wolfe, *Bonfire of the Vanities* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1987).

[13] Giglione, Weinberg, and Good discuss journalism ethics as part of their broader treatments of journalim fiction.

[14] Author's name and school affiliation will be provided in the final version of the paper.

[15] Ghiglione's *The American Journalist* and "Fact vs. fiction," *op. cit.*, mention key books in which ethics is a central concern; in a personal interview, Ghiglione said that frankly, he had not read a great many of the books in his collection.

Rather than providing an exhaustive treatment of the complex dilemmas—a project that would result in a book-length manuscript—this paper introduces the central characters, quotes brief passages, and reaches tentative conclusions about how fictional journalists tend to 1) define their professional roles and how they handle conflicts between personal and institutional ethics while dealing with issues of 2) full-disclosure reporting, 3) editorial independence, 4) harm to sources, audiences, and themselves, 5) accuracy and fairness, objectivity and truthtelling. The novels used as sources for this paper offer a plethora of insights into conflicts of interest, deception, diversity, photojournalism dilemmas, invasion of privacy, relationships with sources, and just about every other interesting dilemma facing journalists; unfortunately, space does not permit taking up those novel insights in the present paper.

A list of the fifty novels is appended to this paper; for ease of reading, each novel is referenced when it appears in the text of the paper.

Roles and Rules

Much has been said about the professional role of journalists. In journalism schools, in the trade press, and in scholarly tomes, journalism is depicted as a constitutionally protected commercial enterprise whose primary functions are to A) seek truth and report it fully and accurately , B) while remaining independent of external forces that would control its behavior, C) all the while considering the very real possibilities that much of its activity results in some sorts of harm to individuals and institutions.[16] These three principles have been spelled out in numerous ethics workshops conducted at the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, and serve as the central theme to the Society of Professional Journalists recent publications on ethics.[17] The task facing journalists, therefore, is to balance those challenges, and to do as much good as possible while minimizing harm; in philosophical terms, to be both beneficient and non-maleficient. At least, that's what real journalists and real journalism students think of their craft. In the world of journalism fiction, it's not always that way. The principles or rules journalists adhere to are certainly not cast in bronze—and generally not in pulp. Moral confusion reigns.

The following excerpts from novels consider the nature of conflicting roles and duties, while raising questions about personal and institutional ethics.

Sometimes the whole notion of professional duty seems problematic to the fictional journalist. In *The Last Frame*, Jim Wright's photojournalist has a problem:

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[16] For example, see Jay Black, Bob Steele, and Ralph Barney, *Doing Ethics in Journalism* (Greencastle, IN: Society of Professional Journalists, 1993).

[17] In addition to *Doing Ethics in Journalism*, see the *SPJ Ethics Manual*, Kevin Smith and Jay Black, Editors (Greencastle, IN: Society of Professional Journalists, 1993).

> His conscience was bugging him again, and that depressed him. Journalists can't have consciences, at least not if they want to stay in hard news.
> -Jim Wright, *The Last Frame*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1990, p. 115.

Statehouse reporter John Cotton, the hero of Tony Hillerman's *The Fly on the Wall*, is one of fictional journalism's more thoughtful characters. Even so, he hasn't completely worked through all of the important questions. One thing he's pretty certain of, however, is that he should not lie to a fellow journalist:

> ...Cotton was surprised at himself, and shocked. He was considering whether he should lie. If he did, it would be a professional lie, told to a fellow member of the brotherhood for professional reasons. It would therefore be a violation of taboo. Nothing was written about it in the pressroom rules, and nothing was said about it, ever. But it wasn't done... the game had its rules. One evaded. One was secretive. One covered his tracks. But one didn't lie to another newsman. In a profession which risked a hundred mistakes in a working day, and published them on rotary presses, and saw years of being right destroyed by being wrong in one edition, the lie was too dangerous for tolerance.
> -Tony Hillerman,*The Fly on the Wall*. New York: Avon Books, 1971, p. 24.

John Feinstein's *Running Mates* describes another unwritten law of journalism. In the novel, a political reporter deep into coverage of the assassination of the Maryland governor finds himself in some turmoil:

> As he walked to the Marriott, Kelleher's mind was in complete chaos. He knew he had just blatantly violated one of the first tenets of journalism: "Thou shalt not sleep with a news source."
> -John Feinstein, *Running Mates*. New York: Villard Books, 1992, p. 70.

The Spike, a cold war right-wing diatribe that saw its journalism hero Robert Hockney tossed and turned by first one political faction and then another, describes an interview situation in which Hockney chooses to uphold his newspaper's longstanding policy about off-the-record interviews. His source seems surprised to learn about "rules" for such an enterprise:

> "If we can go off the record, Mr. Hockney, I might be able to explain a few facts of life to you."
> "We have a rule on the paper—"
> "That's the first time I've heard of rules in your profession."
> -Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss, *The Spike*. New York: Avon, 1980, p. 199.

Roles and rules are sometimes the subject of humor, as when the central character in the potboiler *Deadline* gets caught telling a lie:

> "...The only possible reason for telling a lie like that would be to persuade us that you are a real life journalist, which you obviously are not."
> "How do you know?"

> "Can't take your drink for a start. Also you have an untapped vein of innocence running deep down inside which most journalists have mined by the time they're twenty-five.
> —Tim Heald, *Deadline*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1975, p. 63.

John Katzenbach captured the essence of the journalistic dance in his 1982 novel, *In the Heat of the Summer*:

> "I took down his words, knowing they would find their way to the top of the story. I felt as if I were taking part in an ornate dance, an Elizabethan set filled with dips, bows and flourishes. I knocked on the doors, took down the words. I knew what the neighbors would say; I could have guessed the quotations beforehand. Yet it was an intrinsic part of the ritual of newspaper death. Reporters always ask the neighbors, and the neighbors always say the victims were quiet and kept to themselves. And then the reporters put that in their stories."
> -John Katzenbach, *In the Heat of the Summer*. New York:Ballantine Books, 1982, p. 193.

In *The Last Man Standing*, a murder mystery by Bergen, New Jersey journalist Jim Wright, the police inspector and reporter have a revealing exchange concerning their roles:

> Over coffee and cinnamon doughnuts, they cut a deal. (Police inspector) Cippriani would feed (reporter) Reed exclusive information in exchange for glowing coverage of Cippriani's investigation. And when the case was solved, the two of them would come out holding nothing but aces.
>
> "What exactly do I have to do?" Reed asked.
>
> "Two things. I may ask you from time to time to check out some leads from your end. Do your usual reporter number. And when I crack this case, my boss and the prosecutor are going to try to hog the limelight like they always do. You have to promise to give me all the credit, all the glory. That's it."
>
> Reed wanted to know why Cippriani picked him. "Three reasons," Cimmpriani replied. "You work for the biggest local paper, you seem to care about the case, and you strike me as a sneaky son of a bitch."
> -Jim Wright, *The Last Man Standing*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1991, p. 99.

The 1992 bestseller by lawyer John Grisham, *The Pelican Brief*, has a reporter helping a young law student solve a major case. When reporter Gary Grantham of the *Washington Post* is first introduced, a sometimes colleague/partner says of him:

> ...Grantham was a serious, ethical reporter with just a touch of sleaze... He liked Grantham because he was honest about his sleaziness. The rest were so pious.
> -John Grisham, *The Pelican Brief*. New York: Doubleday, 1992, p. 129.

Full-Disclosure Reporting

Novelists seem to enjoy waving the banner of the fourth estate, maintaining that journalistic independence is both a curse and a blessing in a system where government and other power institutions are suspect. Damn the torpedoes; full-disclosure reporting ahead!

Arthur Hailey's recent potboiler, *The Evening News*, depicts a well-known anchorman in a personal and professional dilemma. His family has been kidnapped by South American terrorists, and he has pursued the kidnappers and the story simultaneously. At one point a fellow journalist working on the story wonders:

> .... was the public entitled to know whatever an enterprising reporter like himself was able to find out, no matter how the information was obtained?
>
> Though such questions existed, the plain fact was, Dawson knew, they were none of his business or concern. The rules in the matter were precise and known to all parties involved.
>
> A reporter's responsibility was to write any worthwhile story he found. If he discovered news, his job was not to suppress or modify it in any way, but to write a full and accurate report, then deliver it to the organization that employed him.
>
> At that point what had been written could go to an editor. It was an editor, or editors, who must consider ethics.
>
> -Arthur Hailey, *The Evening News*. New York: Doubleday, 1990, p. 402.

At several points in *The Fly on the Wall*, Tony Hillerman's journalist, John Cotton, comments about full-disclosure reporting.

> "Look," Cotton said. "You listen." He was tired, exhausted, and feeling the bourbon and his rising anger. "You fault Gene Clark for having no political philosophy. Well, I've got one. I believe if you give them the facts the majority of the people are going to pull down the right lever on the voting machine. A lot of them are stupid. And a lot of them don't give a damn. And some of them have closed minds and won't believe anything they don't want to believe. But enough of them care so if you tell them what's going on they make the right decisions." Cotton paused, thinking how to say it. "So I don't believe in playing God," he said. "I don't buy this elitism crap. I don't go for suppressing news because the so-called common man won't know how to handle it. I dont..."
>
> -Tony Hillerman,*The Fly on the Wall*. New York: Avon Books, 1971, pp. 199-200.

In the same conversation, Cotton is accused by an honest old politician of not going far enough in his efforts to do full-disclosure reporting:

> "You just print part of the facts. Sometimes there's a difference between facts and truth. Here you show them the dirt you've uncovered in the Roark administration. But you're not going to say: 'On the other hand...' You're not going to say, 'But this mess is relatively minor. Because Eugene Clark has sold out to Citybank. Because the Senior Senator doesn't represent you people, he represents only the financial interests which benefit him.' You won't say that because that's another level of truth. It's not the 'verifiable truth' you people talk about in the pressroom."
>
> -Tony Hillerman, *The Fly on the Wall*. New York: Avon Books, 1971, p. 200.

Very early in *The Fly on the Wall*, Cotton admits to himself that there are a lot of stories a dedicated journalist could work on in any given day, and a lot of them deserved to be told. But even a full-disclosure reporter is limited in what time and pressures permit:

> ...Cotton let himself in through the press entrance, under the west- wing stairway at the Sub 1 level floor. He hurried past the Game and Fish Department offices, past the doors of the State Veterinary Board, the Funeral Directors and Embalmers Commission, the Contractors' Licensing Office, and the Cosmetology Inspection Bureau. He reminded himself, as he did almost every day when he used this route, that there might be good hunting among these obscure agencies forgotten in the capitol catacombs. In fact, he had a tip jotted in his notebook about the Veterinary Board. An anonymous caller had told him the director was letting his wife use agency credit cards. When he could find time he would check it out.
>
> -Tony Hillerman,*The Fly on the Wall*. New York: Avon Books, 1971, p. 30.

Of all the journalism novels that have been written by journalists, rather than by "outsiders" who just happened to select journalism as their story-telling vehicle, several stand out for their emphasis on full-disclosure reporting. Their authors—including Hillerman, who wrote *Fly on the Wall* while still an active journalist—seem to have captured an essential tug of war within the profession. Good examples emerge from John Katzenbach of the *Miami Herald*, Jim DeBrosse of the *Cinncinnati Enquirer*, and Jim Wright of the *Bergen* (NJ) *Record*.

At the conclusion of his murder thriller *In the Heat of the Summer* (which later appeared as a film, *The Mean Season*), Katzenbach has his troubled reporter saying:

> I envison the final story...The last story. No more lies, no more half-truths, no more misstatements or misleading information. The real truth: names, places, facts, identities. It will set everything right, I thought. The truth.
>
> —John Katzenbach, *In the Heat of the Summer*. New York: Ballentine Books, 1982, pp. 272-73.

A decade later, Katzenbach revisits the same moral prerogative, this time in the novel *Just Cause*:

> ...His father had said, "Remember: It's not the facts that they want. It's the truth."
>
> -John Katzenbach, *Just Cause*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1992, p. 120.

After Miami journalist Matthew Cowart has been pursuing a story that would win him a Pulitzer prize but turn his life into a living hell, Katzenbach scripts a powerful criticism of journalism:

> "You know why you won't write that story? I'll tell you why. There are a lot of good reasons, but first off, because you know what you don't have? You don't have any facts. You don't have any evidence. All you have is a crazy combination of events and lies, and I know some editor'll look at all that and think it has no place in the paper. And you know what else you don't have, Mr. Cowart? All newspaper stories are all made up of 'according to's' and 'police said's' and 'spokesmen confirmed's' and all sort of other folks contributing documents and reports, and that's where you get the bones for your story. The rest of the flesh is just the detail that you've seen and the detail that you've heard, and you haven't seen or heard anything important enough to build a story."
>
> —John Katzenbach, *Just Cause*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1992, p. 354.

Ace Cincinnati reporter Rick Decker, hero of Jim DeBrosse's novel, deals with the same concern on at least two occasions. First, a source who is in personal danger begs Decker to tell his story:

> "There's only one thing goin' to save me," he said, staring Decker hard in the eye. "The truth. You just make sure you print the truth."
> Decker smiled a little. "Isn't that what reporters always do?"
> -Jim DeBrosse, *The Serpentine Wall*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988, p. 259.

Later, after he has done all he can to solve a major mystery and write a blockbuster of a story about it, Decker believes no one cares. In a particularly poignant discussion with his girlfriend, a nurse, Decker lets it all out—but so does she:

> "I'm going to Chicago. Just as soon as I can walk. I'm going to Chicago and work for the *Tribune*. And you know why?...Because nobody here cares about the fucking truth, that's why. Because nobody here even wants to *hear* the truth."
>
> When Janet wheeled around, he saw the eyes of someone he didn't know. Narrow and angry and flashing blue.
>
> "The truth!" she sneered. "Let me tell you some truth." Her face seemed inches from his. There were dark circles under the eyes, no color in the skin. "Two hours ago I delivered a baby to a couple who've been trying for three years—three years!—to have a child of their own. For twelve hours that woman was in labor, and for twelve hours she refused any medication. She groaned and she pushed and she groaned. And for what? So she could produce this, this..." She stretched her hands apart and stared into the empty space between. "This thing. This monster with no brain. Yes, a baby without a brain! And if this woman and her husband are lucky, their little monster will die. In a day. Maybe two. And then they can go back and try again for another little bundle of joy."
>
> She pointed toward the door and shouted. "Now you go over to that hospital! You go over there and you ask that woman if she gives a damn who set fire to the *River Queen*. Ask her if she cares if Rickie Decker gets the Pulitzer Prize. Go! Go and ask her!"
>
> -Jim DeBrosse, *The Serpentine Wall*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988, p. 299.

Occasionally, the reporter-turned-novelist lets go with a grudge, the sort that most reporters have felt on occasion but rarely share with the public. The concept of full-disclosure reporting gets tangled with a journalism trick called "news rescue" in Wright's *The Last Man Standing;* obviously, full-disclosure reporting sometimes involves a bit of ego:

> (Reporter Stuart) Reed couldn't resist firing one last salvo. "You know, Claire, all I want to do is find out who killed that girl—before he slaughters somebody else. The trouble is that you're so caught up in procedure and circulation areas that you've lost sight of what we're here for—the truth."
>
> (Editor) Claire Green glared at him and asked, "How much can the truth be worth if you have to break the law to get at it?" She didn't wait for a response.
>
> As soon as she had left the room, Reed broke into a grin. Bad luck had turned good once more. According to *Transcript* policy, if an editor didn't want a story, a writer was free to sell it elsewhere. And once Stuart had gathered the goods on Culp Jenkins,he'd sell the story to *New York* or *Esquire* or even *People*. Then he'd work on the book and screenplay.
>
> -Jim Wright, *The Last Man Standing*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1991, p. 95.

The news media's blurring of truth and non-truth, of full-disclosure journallism versus manipulative and selective disclosure, has been captured most effectively by screenwriter Paddy Chayefsky, author of *Network* . Chayefsky's Howard Beale, "the mad prophet of the airways," yells at his network audience:

> Television is not the truth! Television is a goddamned amusement park, that's what television is! Television is a circus, a carnival, a traveling troupe of acrobats and storytellers, singers, and dancers, jugglers, sideshow freaks, lion-tamers and football players! If you want the truth, go to God, go to your guru, go to yourself—because that's the only place you'll ever find any real truth! But, man, you're never going to get any truth from us. We'll tell you anything you want to hear. We lie like hell!
>
> -Paddy Chayefsky , *Network*. Novelization by Sam Hedrin. New York: Pocket Books, 1976, pp. 98-99.

Independence

If truthtelling is the first leg of the journalistic principle pyramid, the second seems to be independence. All else being equal, journalists strive to remain independent of the external forces constantly vying for control over their activities. This generally means they strive to be free from governmental pressures, but it also entails pressures from various other interest groups and even individual sources who are quick to pollute the channels of communication. Of course, in the world of fiction, some of these conflicts are highly dramatic.

In Dan Jenkins' humorous novel about a metropolitan woman journalist who moves to a small town in Texas and shakes up the establishment, we see her explaining to a reluctant source:

> "We happen to be the link between the people and their institutions. The link between the people and the political phonies! Take me, take my excesses, but remember, you're getting a free press in the bargain!"
>
> -Dan Jenkins, *Hard Copy*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988, p. 243.

Marvin Kalb and Ted Koppel, two young journalists who teamed up to produce an intriguing tale of Middle East politics, put some harsh comments about journalism into the mouth of a Kissinger-like Secretary of State after the hero shows up with inside information about an upcoming news event which would have had international repercussions:

> "You and your friends in the media think of yourselves as the guardians of our way of life. You know what you are? You're the gravediggers of democracy!" There was icy contempt in his voice. "There is no such thing as absolute freedom. As soon as a society moves too far in that direction it invites repression. There has to be a limit; and if the press refuses to govern itself, then sooner or later someone else does it for them. That's not a threat. That's one of the immutable laws of history, from which the United States is not exempt.... Could you still keep the story off the air?"
>
> "I could," Darius responded coldly, "but I won't."
>
> -Marvin Kalb and Ted Koppel, *In the National Interest*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977, p. 353.

Even Arthur Hailey captures the essential confllict in *The Evening News*. The dialogue is preachy, but the point is made:

> "What you call 'denigrating everything' we in the news business think of as legitimate questioning, the public's right to know. It's become a function of news reporting to challenge the politicians and bureaucrats, to question whatever we're told—and a good thing, too. The fact is, governments lie and cheat—Democrat, Republican, liberal, socialist, conservative. Once in office they all do it.
>
> "Sure we who seek out the news get tough at times and occasionally—I admit it—go too far. But because of what we do, a lot of crookedness and hypocrisy gets exposed, which in older days those in power got away with. So because of sharper news coverage, which TV pioneered, our society is a little better, slightly cleaner, and the principles of this country nudged nearer to what they should be."
>
> -Arthur Hailey, *The Evening News*. New York: Doubleday, 1990, p. 66.

Former investigative reporter Les Whitten, who worked with muckraker Jack Anderson and later, as a network correspondent, wrote one of the rawest journalism novels. The title, *Conflict of Interest*, says a mouthful. His protagonist, Aubrey Warder, uses seduction, finangling, and even safe cracking to bring down Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Pommery Edwards. Warder sounds much like Arthur Hailey's character, but in Warder's case, it is in testimony to a jury after he has been arrested for various missteps, including safecracking:

> "What I'm saying is that the Founding Fathers gave people like me a job to do. It's to keep an eye on the government on behalf of the people. We were told to expose corruption in and outside of government, to tell the people things that the government would rather keep covered up. To set in motion reforms. Of course, this doesn't make the government very happy."
>
> I caught the forewoman's eye. She was a doughty-looking grandmother, maybe seventy, with a sunken chest and those auger-bit eyes that Baudelaire writes about. I didn't want to soapbox it, but Goddamn, I was right. The government was screwing me.
>
> -Les Whitten, *Conflict of Interest*. New York: Leisure Books, 1991, p. 174.

More than a hundred pages later, Warder is still at it:

> "And in all of reporting, there is no finer calling than investigative reporting. For those who do it are most often exposed to insult and lawsuit and arrest. They are the assault troops of newspapering, the first onto the beaches, the earliest casualties.
>
> "They are the first victims of a vengeful administration or company or union. When the screws are put on, they are the first whose tax forms are pulled, who are hauled before grand juries, who are jailed and sometimes injured. Theirs are the first reputations to be smeared."
>
> -Les Whitten, *Conflict of Interest*. New York: Leisure Books, 1991, pp. 301-302.

All in all, a journalistic declaration of independence advances many plots in a goof number of novels. As often as not, it helps set up conflicts which need to be resolved, even if it takes several hundred pages to do so.

Minimizing Harm

Telling the truth and remaining independent are difficult enough to achieve, but no more so than minimizing the harm caused by the very process of reporting and distributing information. Harm to sources, to subjects, to institutions, to audiences, and even to reporters themselves and their own news media occurs in the world of fiction, just as in reality. Many of the examples of harm will have to await the writing of a second paper on novel insights into journalism ethics; one can hardly discuss such topics as falling into conflicts of interest, invading privacy, intruding photographically, deceiving sources and subject, and other issues of journalism malpractice without bringing up concerns over harm. But, by way of a generic introduction, consider the basic issues as raised in these eight excerpts.

Winston Groom tells a fascinating story about Beau Gunn, a 40-year-old Vietnam War vet who is gets burned out on metropolitan journalism, but comes back to his small southern hometown as editor of the *Courier-Democrat*. Gunn eventually writes a Pulitzer Prize-winning story involving an old friend charged with murder after having been caught up in an oil-importing scam that involves everybody in town, including Gunn's father. How to do good and minimize harm?

> "A newspaper can be a voice for a whole city. If the newspaper is bad, and if its judgment is bad, if it only represents some of the people, only covers society affairs and business events and fires and crime and disasters, and doesn't get at the root problems, if it doesn't include everybody in its coverage, or slants the news, then it doesn't do any real good, and maybe it does more harm than good.
>
> "But if a newspaper is good, and if the stories it prints are accurate, true, fair and unbiased, then it assumes a role of leadership in the community and people respect the stories and opinions that it prints and it gets them to thinking and talking. They don't have to *like* the stories and opinions, but they've got to respect them and people—at least the majority of them, and I believe this—don't respect arrogance or stupidity or incompetence and, furthermore, they know it when they see it."
>
> -Winston Groom, *Gone the Sun*. New York: Doubleday, 1988, p. 192.

The same issues of beneficience and non-maleficience are treated in two novels in which entire metropolitan areas are erupting in violence—and the news media are right at the center of the story. Indeed, as these excerpts show, there may be some question as to whether the media helped caused the rioting.

In Al Morgan's *The Whole World is Watching*, a network morning news show team is embroiled in the 1968 political upheavals in Chicago. A particularly raw dialogue takes place between the news editor and an angry staffer:

> "That brings up the moral questions of whether we should do it or not," I said. "Knowing in advance that we may be contributing to a riot at the worst and a split in the black community at the least."
>
> "Shit!"
>
> The word exploded out of Barbie's mouth.
>
> "What does that mean?"
>
> "It means feces. It also means the kind of lies you just told yourself and us."
>
> "Which lies were those, Barbie?"

> "About not wanting to contribute to a riot or a split in the nigger community. That is not only shit, that is bullshit. On a slow night you send out a film crew, and damned if somebody doesn't throw a rock at somebody else, and damned if you just don't happen to be there to show the world what a bunch of menaces live around whatever street corner you've decided to activate. That's what I mean by shit."
>
> -Al Morgan, *The Whole World is Watching*. New York: Stein and Day, 1972, pp. 71-72.

Edna Buchanan, herself a Pulitzer Prize winner who spent two decades covering the angst of Miami, has turned to the world of fiction to explore some of her passions. The first in a series of Miami journalism novels featuring young Cuban-American reporter Britt Montero is *Contents Under Pressure*. Montero has literally gone through hell to come up with the most powerful story of her career. However, when she returns to the newsroom, she is told that the story will never be released:

> We have to expose the truth about what happened. The public has a right to know. But, I understand what he was saying. The city had already been through a terrible trauma. The quicker the healing process and rebuilding began, the better for all of us who lived here. My story would bring no one to justice and would only further polarize a divided community. For those reasons, the most important story I ever wrote was never read.
>
> —Edna Buchanan, *Contents Under Pressure*. New York: Hyperion, 1992, p. 269.

So much can go awry while producing journalism. It may well be that journalism belongs alongside law and sausage as things that are better not to be watched being made. At least, that's what one might conclude after suffering through several hundred pages of agony and journalistic incompetence described in *B-Four*. Sam Hodges chose that title for his novel about Beauregard Forrest, an incompetent Alabama cub who seemed destined to never get a story published any closer to the front page than in section B, page 4. As he learned the craft by osmosis, Beauregard learned something about news judgment:

> Beauregard had grown used to the way reporters referred to unfortunate and even tragic events as good stories. A murder-suicide was a good story. A tornado was a great story, if bad enough. In public, reporters and editors described good stories as "strong" stories; but that was PR. Back in the newsroom they'd be smiling and raising their fists whenever they gained some key piece of information: the caliber of the murder weapon, say, or the precise swath of the tornado. All this was to the journalistic good.
>
> -Sam Hodges, *B-Four*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992, p. 174.

At another point in the book, Beauregard displays a bit of pessimism about the process:

> So much could go wrong with a newspaper story. The subscribing public, Beauregard thought, had no idea. Of necessity reporters worked fast and relied on secondary sources for information. They took what they could get, much of it over the phone, much of it on faith. They could only hope the chatty but scatterbrained rural county clerk had pulled the right file when she identified a suspect as having a criminal record "as long as Uncle Dolph's arm, *my* Uncle Dolph, and, hon', that's a long one"; only hope the new, winningly articulate Southside psychologist quoted in

> Style's "Men and Stress" series hadn't had pre-Birmingham problems of his own, hadn't faked his Ph.D., say, or been barred from practicing in the Northeast for seducing entire therapy groups. All those surveys and government statistics that came across the wires—who really knew whether they were right? And what reporter, pinned by deadline, hadn't called around in search of an eyewitness account of a neighborhood fire? Maybe the eyewitness hadn't seen much of the fire, had instead been inside ironing or watching TV, but didn't want to blow a chance to make the paper and so exaggerated or even invented details: children in pajamas leaping from second-story windows onto Sears trampolines.
>
> -Sam Hodges, *B-Four*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992, p. 166.

John Katzenbach has effectively captured the agony of doing good journalism that tries to overcompensate for personal and institutional distress. In *Just Cause*, editorial writer Matthew Cowart gets drawn into a reporter's role after hearing a fascinating story about a death row inmate who just might not be guilty of murder:

> ...Cowart realized that he no longer had any choice, that this was the reporter's dilemma: He had heard a man tell him a story of evil and wrongs. He was compelled to discover the truth. He could no more walk away from the story than he could fly.
>
> "So, Mr. Cowart," Ferguson said, "that's the story. Will you help me?"
>
> Cowart thought of the thousands of words he'd written about death and dying, about all the stories of pain and agony that had flowed through him, leaving just the tiniest bit of scar tissue behind that had built up into so many sleeping nightmare visions. In all the stories he'd written, he'd never saved anyone from even a pinprick of despair. Certainly never saved a life.
>
> "I'll do what I can," he replied.
>
> -John Katzenbach, *Just Cause*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1992, pp. 45-46.

Earlier, as Cowart was just getting into the story, he has an encounter with a prison warden who isn't convinced that journalists are capable of causing no harm; a "good story" for a journalist could actually be a matter of life and death for someone else:

> "Everyone always wants the press to get excited about their case. Inmates never think they got a fair shake. They think that maybe if they raise enough of a stink, they'll get a new trial. Happens. That's why prison people like me always hate to see reporters. Hate to see those little pads of paper, those camera crews and lights. Just gets everyone riled up, excited about nothing much. People think it's the loss of freedoms that makes for trouble in prisons. They're wrong. Worse thing by far is expectations getting raised and then smashed. It's just another story for you guys. But for the guys inside, it's their lives you're talking about."
>
> -John Katzenbach, *Just Cause*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1992, p. 34.

Les Whitten's *Conflict of Interest* deals with harm on a couple of levels, as Aubrey Warder considers the benefits and losses involved in his particularly questionable style of reporting:

> Even I was beginning to think Pulitzer. If, eventually, the Speaker was beaten or maybe indicted, then I would be a contender. And the *Eagle*, as it had been known to

> do, couldn't claim the damned Pulitzer for itself rather than submitting me for the individual award, because it was *my* story.
>
> The editors and academic types who gave out the award were always notoriously sentimental toward reporters who had been locked up as a result of their stories. On the other hand, the Pulitzer bunch would not be too enthusiastic about my safecracking. They might even feel a little uncomfortable about my stabbing the guy to death in jail.
>
> -Les Whitten, *Conflict of Interest*. New York: Leisure Books, 1991, p. 223.

One could make a case that harm is inevitable in a business that redistributes power among various interest groups, as journalism does. From the above examples, it appears that the costs and benefits of such harm are part of the utilitarian calculus employed by fictional news media. Given that so many of the authors cited have worked as reporters, the line between truth and fiction may be invisible.

Accuracy, Fairness, and Objectivity

Most journalism codes of ethics take up questions of accuracy, fairness, and objectivity. Dozens of trees have been felled to provide pulp for trade and scholarly analyses of these significant topics. If they haven't already learned that these are important principles for reporters and editors to follow, journalism students learn it in the opening week of their first journalism course.

It is no surprise, then, that novelists use these same concepts as grist for their fictional portrayals of journalism. The best-intentioned reporters and editors face dramatic conflicts between these "virtue words" and all the forces that inhibit their realization. Frequently, the concepts blur together.

Arthur Hailey put down some thoughts about the difficult role conflicts, and how those who watch journalists in action must wonder what makes these folks tick. The point is raised as journalists prepare to cover an airplane crash:

> An observer unfamiliar with the scene might wonder: *Are these people human? Don't they care? Have they no emotion, no feelings of involvement, not an ounce of grief? Have any of them spared a thought for the nearly three hundred terrified souls on that airplane approaching DFW who may shortly die? Isn't there anyone here to whom that matters?*
>
> And someone knowledgeable about news would answer: *Yes, there are people here to whom it matters, and they* will *care, maybe right after the broadcast. Or, when some have reached home, the horror of it all will touch them, and depending on how it all turns out, a few may weep. These are news people. Their job is to record the passing parade, the bad with the good, and to do it swiftly, efficiently, plainly so that—in a news phrase from an older time—"he who runs may read."*
>
> -Arthur Hailey, *The Evening News*. New York: Doubleday, 1990, pp. 12-13.

James Cavanaugh, editor of the *Mirror*, a news magazine coping with the political unheavals of the late 1960s, writes his own obituary for the magazine. It contains several observations about detatchment and conviction:

> People who work in communications are hiding behind a shield. They are not players. They are judges. They don't risk. They let others risk. They use the risks of others.
>
> -Leonard Gross, *Mirror*. New York: Harper & Row, 1981, p. 326.

Cavanaugh reaches this point in his thinking after having worked through some pros and cons of objectivity:

> You could engage all you wanted in your pious discussions of objectivity. There is no objectivity. There is only conviction.
>
> And how you handled conviction was to know of its existence, to respect it, to stand in fucking awe of it, and to learn to function in spite of it.
>
> Subjective objectivity.
>
> This was beginning to make sense. He, editor, pronounced a vision of the world as it ought to be. And his supporting editors must agree, for they serve as his extension. But his writers must return to him with reports of the world as it was and would be.
>
> -Leonard Gross, *Mirror*. New York: Harper & Row, 1981, p. 84.

Whether objectivity and detatchment are obtainable, let alone desirable, is subject of considerable debate in fiction. *The Spike*, a Cold War novel, includes this exchange:

> "I don't believe complete objectivity is possible," Renard replied thoughtfully. "And those who claim to stand for journalistic objectivity have already taken sides while deluding themselves that they haven't."
>
> "You mean that they have taken sides with the existing social order."
>
> -Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss, *The Spike*. New York: Avon, 1980, p. 44.

And Alan Drury, a sophisticated observer of the Washington power scene, takes up a similar line in his book *Anna Hastings*, a novel about an ambitious young reporter who manipulates her way into ownership of a powerful newspaper:

> From the beginning, the column was good. She made some attempt at first to be objective and fair—the tradition still lingered in Washington journalism, though it was very soon to yield to the get-the-bastards-at-any-price mentality of the so-called New Journalism, which in reality was very old, harkening back to the days of nakedly partisan twopenny dreadfuls.
>
> -Alan Drury, *Anna Hastings*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1977, p. 70.

Well-respected photojournalist Nicholas DelCorso, central character in Philip Caputo's novel *DelCorso's Galery,* finds himself engaged in numerous conversations about journalism ethics. Accuracy, fairness, and objectivity are intelligently debated by Caputo. In one of those conversations, a colleague of DelCorso's says:

> "...A professional attitude. We do this because we're good at it, not because we're

> going to change anything. We're supposed to record what's happening, not make something happen. That social-activist shit is what those lefty professors feed the troops in journalism school.
>
> -Philip Caputo, *DelCorso's Gallery*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983, p.43.

Later, in the same novel, a character explains why he doesn't necessarily attempt to capture reality on film, knowing full well that he is talking with a journalistic purist dedicated to changing the world with his powerful art:

> "It doesn't make any difference if I was there," he went on. "I don't believe in journalism-school idealism, but for the sake of argument, let's say the public in a democracy has a right to know the facts. Let's say good journalism appeals to the intellect by presenting the facts accurately. But which facts? Does the public have a *right* to hear actual gunfire? Do they have a *right* to read stories full of blood and gore and bang-bang? Does any of that make them better informed? Hell no. It excites them is all. It makes a difference to them only in that sense. It makes a difference to McDaniels because it helps him peddle his news-broadcast service to radio stations, and the stations buy this garbage because they know that out there on the freeway some fat-assed tax attorney is going to get a little tickle in his crotch when he hears *rat-a-tat-tat* on his AM. For two or three minutes he escapes his crummy little world. What this on-scene bullshit appeals to is the sensations, not the intellect...The public has a right to the facts, it doesn't have a right to ask me or you to risk our lives just to make *their* lives more interesting."
>
> -Philip Caputo, *DelCorso's Gallery*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983, p.248.

Part of the challenge seems to be based on the fact that reporters are out there observing how the games are played among the movers and shakers. The temptation is to participate in the process, or at the very least be in a position to make a mark in history. Jim DeBrosse's investigative reporter Rick Decker laments that:

> (T)he powerful play out their own secret drama, by their own rules, while reporters are handed a whole other script to put before the sheep. But that wasn't the saddest part. At least not for Decker. When he thought about the great media "plays" of the twentieth century—the Kennedy murders, the Bay of Pigs, the Gulf of Tonkin, Watergate—the saddest part was that the script had been enough for most reporters. Only a handful of the best saw the shadows on the stage and tried to pull the curtains back.
>
> -Jim DeBrosse, *The Serpentine Wall*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988, p. 286.

Should journalists have egos? The question comes up repeatedly in journalism fiction. Usually, when the journalistic ego prevails, there is tragedy. Consider the dilemma of young Sherry Estabrook, *Miami Citizen* investigative reporter who is onto a whale of a story: She has exclusive access to a 16-year-old hitman for one of Miami's biggest and most brutal crime families. The boy wants Sherry to tell his story.

> Here, happening to her now, was the greatest story of her life,

> the one she had been waiting for since she left home, the one
> that would get her the prizes she needed, the interviews on the
> morning talk shows, the guest lectures at journalism schools.
> Eastabrook was going to mean raw, honest journalism, it was
> going to be a name that meant something real.
> —Suzy Wetlaufer, *Judgment Call*. New York: William Morrow
> and Company, 1992, p. 83.

As Sherry pursues the story it gets out of control, to the point where she eventually loses any objectivity she might have had and becomes actively involved in the killer's newsmaking. A bad judgment call, indeed.

John Katzenbach's recent novel, *Just Cause*, also found his journalistic protagonist in agony after his crucially important judgment call backfired:

> He was about to crumble the paper and throw it into the wastebasket when he stopped and looked at it again. Grabbing a yellow highlight pen, he started marking the occasional word or phrase. After he finished the entire story a second time, he laughed. In all the words written, there was nothing wrong. There was nothing really untrue. Nothing inaccurate.
>
> Except everything.
>
> -John Katzenbach, *Just Cause*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1992, pp. 219-220.

On the other hand, consider Danny Fain, assistant metro editor on the Chicago *Bugle* (a paper which is being shut down around him on the day covered by the novel). Fain faces a judgment call that may help salvage his stagnant career; it might be of some help to the newspaper as well, but that consideration is secondary. Fain has to decide whether to alert the police or do his own investigation of what he thought might have been a hit-and-run accident he noticed from the window of his speeding commuter train:

> If the kid was alive and unharmed there was nothing to report.
> If he was hurt or killed and the paramedics were on the scene, then it
> was a short. But if the ghost was the victim of a fatal hit-and-run and
> was now lying broken along the railroad tracks, then it was the kind
> of story that could turn nonreaders into devotees, occasional perusers
> into subscribers. It was a ticket story; a ticket to a better job, a ticket
> to a better tomorrow.
> —Charles Dickinson, *Rumor Has It*. New York: William Morrow
> and Company, 1991, p. 11.

Fain's judgment call—to pursue the story and not call authorities—backfires on him. But he, like many other fictional journalists, doesn't do a very thorough job of considering all the consequences of his actions. Unlike some, who always have half an eye out for the Pulitzer, Fain is just doing a job:

> The *Bugle* had always been a job, something he enjoyed,
> something he was good at, a talent they paid him to use well.
> But he never thought of himself as a crusader for justice or the

> public's right to know. He was almost surprised in the morning when he saw his work on display and for sale. He was engaged in this work strictly for himself and for his family.
>
> —Charles Dickinson, *Rumor Has It*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1991, p. 58.

Herbert Gold, author of numerous novels, saw the editor's role as somewhat different:

> The V. J. ("Veteran Journalist") saw the world as a zoo in which all the animals were red in tooth and claw and he was not their keeper.
>
> Only writing it down, sir, not playing God, not even editor, just chronicling and trying to pay attention to the proper cage when the fur flew and the shrieks rose up. God claimed responsibility for the place, but had nothing to do with the shit in the corners. The V. J., with God absent, just stood there, pad and felt-tip pen in hand.
>
> -Herbert Gold, *Mister White Eyes*. New York: Arbor House, 1984, p. 247.

A minor theme running through many of the discussions of journalism ethics, detachment, objectivity, etc. is the difference between reporters and editors. Les Whitten, who writes as though he had far more respect for the former than for the latter, maintains:

> Not that the ethics of editors and publishers are better than those of reporters. Their ethics are, almost to a man, worse. But they cannot *afford* to be caught.
>
> -Les Whitten, *Conflict of Interest*. New York: Leisure Books, 1991, p. 160.

Conclusion

The image created by this body of literature is that journalism is largely an amoral enterprise. At best, it wallows somewhere in the ethical bog of egoism, subjectivism, and relativism/situationalism. When they broach such ethical constructs as utilitarianism, the authors focus on the hedonic and crass commercialism of the business. In such cases, human profits and losses are calculated just as surely as circulation and advertising gains and losses are calculated by the new cadré of newsroom MBA's.

Occasionally in fiction, the journalist of principle, motivated by virtue and a sense of duty, appears—although often as a foil against his or her own management, and usually at odds with the community. Far more typical is the portrait of the journalist as having more than a touch of sleaze.

If the ethical decisionmaking processes employed by the journalists of fiction appear convoluted, it may be because even in the real world the profession hasn't done a very good job of figuring these issues out. Fictional—and real—journalists may not have fully considered the nature of their roles, their obligations, and the consequences of their actions.

Full-disclosure reporting, maintaining independence, and minimizing harm have been proposed as guiding principles for journalists. But how justifiable are some of the means used to reach them? Is it possible to be a truthteller even if it means having to lie and deceive to report that truth? Can one remain independent while encountering and falling prey to conflicts of interest? Can harm be minimized in an environment of ignorance about the ripples caused by reporting? These questions are explored with wit and insight in novels about journalism.

Fifty novels with insights into journalism ethics:

Edna Buchanan, *Contents Under Pressure* (New York: Hyperion, 1992)
Edna Buchanan, *Miami, It's Murder* (New York: Hyperion, 1994)
Philip Caputo, *DelCorso's Gallery* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1983)
Elliott Chaze, *Mr. Yesterday* (New York: Scribner's, 1984)
Arnaud De Borchgrave & Robert Moss, *The Spike* (New York: Avon, 1980)
Jim DeBrosse, *The Serpentine Wall* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988)
Charles Dickinson, *Rumor Has It* (New York: William Murrow, 1991)
Allen Drury, *Anna Hastings* (New York: William Murow, 1977)
Jack Early, *Razzamatazz* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1985)
Loren Estleman, *Whiskey River* (New York: Bantam, 1980)
Howard Fast, *The Pledge* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988)
John Feinstein, *Running Mates* (New York: Villard Books, 1992)
Richard Ford, *The Sportswriter* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986)
John Grisham, *The Pelican Brief* (New York: Doubleday, 1992)
Winston Groom, *Gone The Sun* (New York: Doubleday, 1988)
Leonard Gross, *Mirror* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981)
Arthur Hailey, *The Evening News* (New York: Doubleday, 1990)
Pete Hamill, *Dirty Laundry* (New York: Bantam, 1978)
Jean Heller, *Maximum Impact* (New York: Forge, 1993)
Sam Hendrin, *Network* (New York: Pocket Books, 1976)
Carl Hiaasen, *Native Tongue* (New York: Knopf, 1991)
Carl Hiaasen, *Tourist Season* (New York: Warner, 1986)
Tony Hillerman, *The Fly on the Wall* (New York: Avon, 1971)
Sam Hodges, *B-Four* (New York: St. Martin's, 1992)
Dan Jenkins, *Fast Copy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988)
Dan Jenkins, *You Gotta Play Hurt* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991)
Marvin Kalb & Ted Koppel, *In the National Interest* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977)
Jon Katz, *Sign Off* (New York: Bantam, 1991)
John Katzenbach, *In the Heat of the Summer* (New York: Ballentine, 1982)
John Katzenbach, *Just Cause* (New York: Putnam, 1992)
William Kotzwinkle, *Midnight Examiner* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989)
C. J. Koch, *The Year of Living Dangerously* (New York: Penguin, 1978)
Daniel Lynch, *Yellow* (New York: Walker, 1992)
J.J. Maloney, *I Speak For The Dead* (New York: Charter, 1982)
Graham Masterton, *Headlines* (New York: St. Martin's, 1986)
Peter McCabe, *City of Lies* (New York: William Morrow, 1993)
Al Morgan, *The Whole World is Watching* (New York: Stein & Day, 1972)
James Paisner, *Obit* (New York: Penguin, 1990)
Cara Saylor Polk, *Images* (New York: St. Martin's, 1986)
Wilfrid Sheed, *The Hack* (New York: Random House, 1963)
Matt & Bonnie Taylor, *Neon Flamingo* (New York: St. Martin's, 1987
Calvin Trillin, *The Floater* (New Haven & New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1980)
Irving Wallace, *The Almighty* (New York: Dell, 1982)
Donald E. Westlake, *Trust Me on This* (New York: The Mysterious Press, 1988)
Suzy Wetlaufer, *Judgment Call* (New York: William Morrow, 1992)
Les Whitten, *Conflict of Interest* (New York: Leisure Books, 1991)
Tom Wicker, *Donovan's Wife* (New York: William Morrow, 1992)
Tom Wolfe, *Bonfire of the Vanities* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1987)
Jim Wright, *The Last Frame* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1990)
Jim Wright, *The Last Man Standing* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1991)

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The Character, Evolution and Format of Ethics' Policies: Report on a Survey of Texas Daily Newspapers

by

Dixie Evatt
Ph.D. Student
University of Texas at Austin

for

Student Research Paper Division
Media Management & Economic Division
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Atlanta, Georgia
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Contact:
Dixie Evatt
508 Harris Avenue
Austin, Texas 78705
(512) 478-2049

ABSTRACT:

This study looks at the way newspaper publishers articulate ethics policies to staff. The study compares the results of a 1993 survey with a similar survey conducted by the author in 1975. While codes of ethics continue to be the exception instead of the rule for all but the largest newspapers, there has been a significant growth in the number of newspapers in Texas with written codes of ethics and ethics policies. Not all newspapers assemble their ethics policies into single documents labeled "Code of Ethics." Many newspapers rely on other written management policies to communicate with editorial and newsroom staff. This study examines these policy formats for 29 separate policy issues.

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The Character, Evolution And Format Of Ethics' Policies: Report on a Survey of Texas Daily Newspapers

Unfettered by many of the constraints of law and regulation common to most businesses and professions, newspapers in the United States are governed by their individual and collective conscience or what Chafee called the "internal ideals of the enterprises" (Hindman, 1992, p. 53). The expression of that conscience is found in the ethics' policies of individual newspapers and newspaper associations. These expressions of conscience are a check on the activities of news reporters and editors. They say: "This we will do. This we will not." When they are formalized and published, they set a standard by which the conduct and performance of newspapers may be judged (De Mott, 1980, p. 82).

Much of the research and measurement of American media ethics in the 20th Century talks in terms of ***codes*** of ethics. This implies that the ethical record of a newspaper or institution will be found in a written document and labeled "code of ethics." While a number of studies have looked at newspaper codes of ethics, less attention has been paid to discrete or free-standing policies that may exist outside of formal codes but which guide ethical decision-making in the newsroom (Meyer, 1983; Anderson, 1987; and Black, *et al*, 1993). Most studies are not designed to provide clear insights into the ways newspaper management articulates discrete ethics policies that may not always be part of a more formal code. In addition, with few exceptions, studies of media ethics offer a snapshot of ethical issues for the time frame and newspapers studied but do not lend themselves to longitudinal analysis.

The research reported here addresses both points. First, this research assumes that ethics policies will be found in forms -- such as oral directive or management memorandum -- other than what is usually thought of as a code. Instead of just asking "Do you have a code of ethics?", this study identifies a variety of ethics policy issues and the method used by management to communicate these policies to staff. This study also looks at the issue over an 18-year period to document changes in policy formation over time.

Two questions were studied:

Q.1 Are formal, written codes of ethics and ethics policies more prevalent among newspapers today than in the past?

Q.2 What format is most often used by newspapers of different sizes to articulate ethics policies?

Research is limited to individual newspaper codes of ethics since they provide the clearest barometer of a contemporary newspaper conscience. Individual newspaper codes tend to be more specific than association codes (Seib, 1977, p. 26 and Goodwin, 1987, pp. 16-19). Johannesen says "codes of national associations, while useful as general guidelines and to stimulate reflection on ethical issues, usually lack the practicality, detail, and comprehensiveness necessary for maximum effectiveness." (Johannesen, 1987, p. 61). In addition, individual newspaper codes have the advantage of being enforceable in the newsroom (Goodwin, 1987, p. 16-19 and Rivers and Mathews, 1988, p. 199). Editors and publishers alone hold the power to require that ethics standards be met, to decide what is to be published and what is to be withheld and, ultimately, to sanction an erring reporter (Evatt, 1976, p. 4).

Prior Research

Ethics policies are as old as American journalism, often finding their way into public debate during eras of intense press criticism (Evatt, 1976, pp. 8-40 and Anderson, 1987, pp. 341-342). One of the first contemporary attempts to document codes of ethics and contemporary ethical standards of individual newspapers can be found in reports of the Associated Press Managing Editors (APME) Professional Standards Committee for 1972 and 1974. APME surveyed its 700 members in both years, finding that between the first and second survey "honest-to-God progress" had been made (APME, 1974, p. 4). At about the same time, Evatt (1976, p. 69) found 10 percent of Texas daily newspapers had formal codes of ethics. Many more Texas newspapers reported that they imposed standards less formally by using what Hausman (1992, p.126) would later refer to as "memo and meeting" ethics.

A few years after the APME surveys, the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) sponsored a comprehensive survey of newspaper codes (Meyer, 1983). The survey sampled newspapers nationwide and weighted responses based on circulation size. The questionnaire posed ethical anecdotal dilemmas and compared responses given by publishers, editors and staff. Only passing attention was given to formal ethics codes. While recognizing that unwritten standards and norms play a role in ethical decision-making, later surveys (Anderson, 1987 and Pritchard and Morgan, 1989) did not pay attention to the way management communicated specific types of ethics' policies.

Because of its scope and freshness, a 1992 survey sponsored by the Sigma Delta Chi Foundation and the Society of Professional Journalists (Black, *et al*, 1993) is a particularly valuable source of information about contemporary media ethics codes. Researchers conducted a national telephone survey of randomly selected newspapers (n. 166) and television stations (n. 138) to take the "ethical pulse" of America's news media. Of the 304 media outlets completing the survey, 44 percent of the newspapers and 49 percent of the television stations said they relied on written codes. The narrative in the report suggests others responding to the survey rely on an unwritten code but the tables with the published report only makes two distinctions "with code" and "without code". Survey results (Black, *et al*, 1993, pp. 203-220) do not lend themselves to distinguishing the ways newspapers may address some discrete issues in a code form, some by other written policy, and some by unwritten policy.

Methods

A survey of Texas daily newspaper ethics politics and codes was conducted from October 18 to November 19, 1993. The study was limited to Texas newspapers for two reasons. First, Texas is large enough to embody certain diverse demographic characteristics including newspapers serving communities of all sizes (urban, suburban, small cities and towns and rural areas). In addition, an 18-year-old benchmark study of Texas daily newspapers (Evatt, 1976)[1] made it possible to look at ethics policy evolution over a long period of time for the same group of newspapers.

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[1] The report was published in 1976 but the survey was conducted in 1975.

Subjects -- Daily newspapers are defined as those (a) devoting not less than 25 percent of total column lineage to items of general interest, (b) published at least five times a week, (c) published regularly and continuously throughout the calendar year, (d) and having a paid circulation. According to the Texas Press Association (TPA) , 96 Texas newspapers fit this description.

Questionnaire Development -- Contemporary journal and trade publication articles were reviewed to identify appropriate questions for inclusion in the survey. Twelve relevant issues covered by the 1975 survey also were included, although in some cases the wording was revised. The questionnaire (Appendix 1) captures the following information:

(a) name, title and phone number of person completing survey form;
(b) circulation size;
(c) number of full-time newsroom personnel;
(d) type of ethics policies used;
(e) date code was adopted and date last amended (where applicable);
(f) description of the way the code is disseminated;
(g) types of employees to whom the code applies; and
(h) types of policies governing 29 discrete ethical issues.

The final questions, relating to 29 discrete ethical issues, fall into two broad categories: those dealing with ***news gathering and reporting*** and those dealing with ***other activities.*** "Other activities" are defined as those engaged in by staff outside the newsroom but which may reflect on the credibility or perceived independence of the newspaper. Newspapers also were asked to send a copy of their code (where applicable). This information was collected for use in future analysis of code content but was not used in this study.

As an incentive to participate in the study, a copy of the final report was offered to those who checked a box at the end of the questionnaire form. [2]

Questionnaire Pre-Test -- To make sure instructions and definitions were clear, the questionnaire was pre-tested on a cross-section of individuals prior to use. Reviewers included the Executive Vice President of the TPA; a former newspaper reporter for a large Texas daily; and a small-town newspaper publisher.

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[2] Nineteen of the 42 respondents requested the report.

Questionnaire Mailing and Follow-up -- Before being mailed, each questionnaire was personalized with a mailing label bearing the name of the publisher and newspaper address. The questionnaire was mailed to each Texas daily newspaper publisher on October 18, 1993.

A self-addressed return envelope was enclosed. Respondents were given the option of faxing their response. Respondents who did not answer the initial survey by November 5, 1993 received a follow-up letter and another personalized questionnaire. In some cases, publishers were interviewed by phone to seek clarification when responses on the questionnaire were unclear.

Participation and Sample Integrity -- Since the universe was small, an effort was made to achieve a higher-than-average response rate. This was done in two ways. First, the TPA agreed to run an article about the study in its' October newsletter. It was felt this would give the study greater visibility and credibility. In addition, a sub-set of 24 newspapers (one fourth of the universe) was targeted for special follow-up. The target papers were selected by a systematic random sample of newspapers taken from the a list of all 96 Texas daily papers arrayed in circulation size order. The follow-up letter to these papers included a hand-stamped return envelope. In addition, each publisher on the target list who did not respond to the first and follow-up survey was telephoned and asked to participate in the study.

Operational Definitions for Research Question 1: Because the first research question compares the prevalence of codes and code formality over time, it was necessary to collapse definitions in the 1993 survey so they could be compared to the 1975 survey results, as follows:

Definition of Code -- Since the 1975 survey only asked whether or not the newspaper had a formal code, only two answers were possible: "Code" or "No Code." The 1993 survey, however, asked publishers to identify the statement (from a list of five options) that best described the way ethics policies were communicated to staff.

Therefore, the first two options on the 1993 survey ("comprehensive written code of ethics" and "general written code of ethics") were combined so they could be compared to the "Code" response given in the 1975 survey. The other three levels in the 1993 survey ("informal written standards," "unwritten standards," and "no formal or informal standards") were combined into one category for comparison to the "No Code" designation in the 1975 survey.

Formality of Policies -- The second issue suggested by the first research question -- "Are policies more formal today than in the past?" -- also required that definitions be collapsed for comparison purposes. In this case, the only comparison possible was for 12 discrete policy issues for which data were captured in both surveys. These are the following:

(1) Use of surreptitiously obtained material.
(2) Protection of confidential sources.
(3) Use of morbid, sensational or alarming material.
(4) Publication of names of rape victims.
(5) Publication of names of juveniles involved in crime.
(6) Protection of individual privacy.
(7) Paying sources for interviews or publication rights.
(8) Acceptance of "freebies."
(9) Moonlighting.
(10) Participation in community or civic activities.
(11) Working for competing journalistic activities.
(12) Involvement in political or ideological activities.[3]

In the case of the 1993 survey, Question 5 lists 29 discrete policy issues and asks respondents to use a four-part code to indicate the statement that best describes the way the newspaper handles each policy issue. Since the 1975 survey only called for three levels of formality, the following definitions from the 1993 survey Question 5 were assumed for purposes of analysis:

> Formal Policy -- means all answers to Question 5 of the questionnaire which used the following answers: "(1) Issue is governed by our Code of Ethics" and " (2) Issue is governed by other written policy."
>
> Informal Policy -- means answers to Question 5 using following code: "(3) Issue is governed by unwritten policy."
>
> No Policy -- means answers to Question 5 using the following code: "(4) We have no policy regarding this issue."

---

[3] Some tables in this report use a short title for many of the policies studied. This title is a one or two word key phrase. The full text of all questions by short title is found in Appendices 3 and 4.

These definitions then become comparable to the following definitions used in the 1975 survey:

> Formal Policy -- means any formal code of ethics or standards of conduct that have been written down, as part of any over-all code, or individually by memoranda or office bulletin.
>
> Informal Policy -- means any policy that is enforced by editors but which has never been actually reduced to writing.
>
> No Policy -- means the newspaper permits individuals to make their own judgments or has never addressed the question.

Operational Definitions for Research Question 2 : This research questions looks at the way discrete ethics policies are communicated today. Each policy issue was analyzed using the coding scheme provided in Question 5 of the 1993 questionnaire. Respondents were asked to choose from a list of statements to describe the way their newspaper addressed each of the 29 ethical policy issues listed on the questionnaire form, using the following codes:

Use	To Indicate
1	Issue is governed by our Code of Ethics.
2	Issue is governed by other written policy.
3	Issue is governed by unwritten policy.
4	We have no policy regarding this issue.

Responses were subdivided and reported by newspaper circulation size using the following three categories:

Size	Paid Circulation
Small	less than 15,000
Medium	15,000 to 50,000
Large	more than 50,000.

Although these categories do not match the designations used in the 1975 survey, they were thought to better reflect the universe after 18 years of change in the number and size of newspapers. These categories provide cut off points consistent with the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) circulation groupings, although the ANPA uses 10 groupings instead of three. Ten is an impractical number for this survey since it would result in too few newspapers in each category to be credible.

Results and Findings

After two mailings, only 42 of 96 newspapers answered the questionnaire (Table 1). While the overall response rate was below expectations, the responses from large newspapers was extraordinary. All 11 of the large newspapers (those with more than 50,000 in paid circulation) answered the survey. For all but the large newspapers, the overall response is not adequate to make inferences to the population. The response rate is, however, sufficiently large to provide descriptive data.

Table 1
Distribution of Responses By Newspaper Size Category

	Newspaper Size			Total
	Small	Medium	Large	
Number of Newspapers	58	27	11	96
Number of Responses	18	13	11	42
Response Rate	31%	48%	100%	44%

The purpose of targeting a random sample of newspapers for more intense follow-up was to correct for the possibility that only those newspapers with codes of ethics would respond, thereby skewing the results. By arraying the newspapers in circulation size order, the sub-sample was designed to improve representation from newspapers of all sizes. The responses of target newspapers by circulation size is found in Table 2.

Table 2
Distribution of Responses From Target Newspapers by Newspaper Size Category

	Newspaper Size			Total
	Small	Medium	Large	
Number of Newspapers	14	7	3	24
Number of Responses	6	6	3	15
Response Rate	43%	86%	100%	63%

The size of the response rate in the sub-sample of medium newspapers controlled for the bias in the patterns of responses, making the data for medium size papers more reliable than for small papers. Responses for all questions relating to policies and ethics codes are displayed by newspaper size category in Appendix 3. Other findings directly relating to the two research questions posed for this study follow.

First Research Question

The first research question asks: "Are formal, written codes of ethics and ethics policies more prevalent today than in the past?" Although Texas daily newspapers still rely heavily on unwritten policies to communicate ethics standards to staff, there was a significant growth from 1975 to 1993 in the number of newspapers reporting they had a code of ethics. Table 3 shows that 29 percent of the newspapers answering the 1993 survey said they have a code of ethics, compared to eight percent in 1975.

Table 3
Comparison of Number of Newspapers With and Without A Code of Ethics
From 1975 and 1993 Surveys of Texas Daily Newspapers

	1975 Survey		1993 Survey	
	f	%	f	%
With Code of Ethics	6	8%	12	29%
Without A Code	71	92%	30	71%
TOTAL	77	100%	42	100%

Chi: 7.553 p<.01

Since 12 discrete ethics issues were covered in both the 1975 and 1993 surveys, a comparison of those issues is also possible. In the analysis, each policy was counted separately, thus for each newspaper there are 12 policy questions. Table 4 shows the aggregate of all policies that fit under each category. The comparison shows some movement toward more formal policies (either in the form of a code or some other written policy or management directive to staff) and away from unwritten policies. Thirty-one percent of the policies for these 12 issues in 1993 were formal compared to 14 percent in 1975.

Table 4
Comparison of Policy Format for 12 Selected Policies
From 1975 and 1993 Surveys of Texas Daily Newspapers

	1975 Survey		1993 Survey	
	f	%	*f*	%
Formal (Written)	130	**14.3%**	156	**31.0%**
Informal (Unwritten)	562	**62.0%**	298	**59.1%**
No Policy	215	**23.7%**	50	**9.9%**
TOTAL	907	**100%**	504	**100%**

Although most discrete policies in both 1975 and 1993 tend to be "informal" (as reflected in Appendix 5), there was an increase from 1975 to 1993 in the number of written policies that deal with activities of newsroom staff that are not directly related to news gathering and reporting (called "other activities"). The number of formal, written policies in this category grew from 15 percent in 1975 to 38 percent in 1993. For each policy issue, there was an increase in the percent of formal policies and a decrease in the percent of newspapers which have "no policy" governing the issue. These issues include such things as moonlighting, accepting "freebies," working for competing journalistic enterprises and involvement in political or ideological activities outside the workplace.

A similar pattern is seen in those issues which relate to news gathering and reporting. This category includes such issues as paying for exclusive interviews and use of stolen documents. Here again the trend is toward an increase in the percent of policies that have been formalized, or written down, and a decrease in the percentage of newspapers with no policy governing the issue in question. In 1975, only 14 percent of these policies were formal compared to 26 percent in 1993.

Complete responses by newspaper size category for the 12 ethics policy issues from the 1975 survey can be found in Appendix 4. Complete responses by newspaper size category for the all issues from the 1993 survey can be found in Appendix 3.

Second Research Question

The second research question asks: "What format is most often used by newspapers of different sizes to articulate ethics policies?" The 1993 questionnaire approached this question in two ways. First, publishers were asked to pick, from five options, the statement that best described the way they communicated their ethics policies to staff.

Two categories were provided for those with codes of ethics: (a) ***comprehensive written code of ethics***, defined as "a set of ethical standards organized and codified into a single document or set of documents (such as employee or management handbook) to give staff comprehensive and specific guidance governing a wide range of ethical issues" and (b) ***general written code of ethics***, defined as "a set of general principles codified into a single document but which is supplemented, as needed, with more specific written or oral policies or directives from management."

Those without a code had three categories from which to choose: (c) ***informal written standards***, defined as written and disseminated but not codified into a single document or set of documents."; (d) ***unwritten standards***, defined as "communicated orally as needed"; and (e) ***no formal or informal standards***, issues are addressed on a case-by-case basis.

About 29 percent of the newspapers said they had a code of ethics, either comprehensive or general. A majority (55 percent) of newspapers in the large newspaper category -- those with a circulation of more than 50,000 -- reported they have a code of ethics, most of which were described as comprehensive. Newspapers that fell in both the medium and small category rely primarily on informal (written and unwritten) standards. A summary of findings by newspaper size category is found in Appendix 2.

The 1993 questionnaire also looked at the way newspapers articulate 29 discrete policy issues. Simply asking whether a newspaper has a code does not say much about the content and scope of the code or the kinds of written standards that may be imposed in other forms, such as management memorandum.

The vast majority of newspaper discrete ethics policies remain informal and unwritten, as reflected in Table 5. Each newspaper was asked about the format of 29 different policies. Responses were then aggregated by response category. Full question response summaries are found in Appendix 3.

Table 5
Format Used To Articulate 29 Discrete Ethics Policies
As Reported in a 1993 Survey of Texas Daily Newspapers

	Newspaper Size Category			Total**
	Small	Medium	Large	
Found in Code of Ethics	**5.6%**	**8.5%**	**33.9%**	**13.9%**
	(n. 29)	(n. 32)	(n. 108)	(n. 169)
Written Policy	**12.7%**	**13.6%**	**9.7%**	**12.2%**
	(n. 66)	(n. 51)	(n. 31)	(n. 148)
Unwritten Policy	**64.5%**	**68.4%**	**46.1%**	**60.9%**
	(n. 336)	(n. 257)	(n. 147)	(n. 740)
No Policy	**17.3%**	**9.6%**	**10.3%**	**13.1%**
	(n. 90)	(n. 36)	(n. 33)	(n. 159)

**May not total to 100% due to rounding.

As shown in Tables 6 and 7, newspapers are more likely to formalize, or write down, policies that deal with activities outside the newsroom than activities that deal with standards governing news gathering and reporting. Approximately 32 percent of the policies dealing with these outside activities are in writing, either as part of a code or in some other written form. This category includes issues such as moonlighting, "freebies", working for competing journalistic enterprises and involvement in civic, ideological and political activities. This compares with written standards for about one fourth of policies dealing with news gathering and reporting.

Table 6

Format Used To Articulate Individual Policies Relating to Other Activities As Reported in a 1993 Survey of Texas Daily Newspapers

	Newspaper Size Category			Total**
	Small	Medium	Large	
Found in Code of Ethics	4.0%	17.6%	41.6%	18.0%
	(n. 5)	(n. 16)	(n. 32)	(n. 53)
Written Policy	18.3%	9.9%	10.4%	13.6%
	(n. 23)	(n. 9)	(n. 8)	(n. 40)
Unwritten Policy	50.8%	58.2%	35.1%	49.0%
	(n. 64)	(n. 53)	(n. 27)	(n. 144)
No Policy	27.0%	14.3%	12.9%	19.4%
	(n. 34)	(n. 13)	(n. 10)	(n. 57)

**May not total to 100% due to rounding.

Table 7

Format Used To Articulate Individual Policies Relating to News Gathering and Reporting As Reported in a 1993 Survey of Texas Daily Newspapers

	Newspaper Size Category			Total**
	Small	Medium	Large	
Found in Code of Ethics	6.0%	5.6%	31.4%	12.6%
	(n. 24)	(n. 16)	(n. 76)	(n. 116)
Written Policy	10.9%	14.7%	9.5%	11.7%
	(n. 43)	(n. 42)	(n. 23)	(n. 108)
Unwritten Policy	68.9%	71.6%	49.6%	64.6%
	(n. 272)	(n. 204)	(n. 120)	(n. 596)
No Policy	14.2%	8.1%	9.5%	11.0%
	(n. 56)	(n. 23)	(n. 23)	(n. 102)

**May not total to 100% due to rounding.

Because all of the state's largest newspapers, which represent 68 percent of the paid circulation of all Texas daily newspapers[4], responded to the survey, it is worthwhile to examine their policies in more detail. It was not surprising to find that large papers are more likely to put their ethics policies in writing since they have larger news and editorial staffs and, therefore, generally can be expected to have a more formal management structure. All but one of the 29 policies that were the subject of the study can be found in a code of ethics of at least one of the large papers. The exception was "outing of homosexuals," an issue most large papers governed by unwritten policy.

As shown in Table 8, those policies relating to activities outside of news gathering functions that find their way most often into ethics codes of large papers deal with involvement in political and ideological activities, "freebies," working for competing journalistic enterprises and involvement in civic and community activities.

Table 8
Format of Ethics Policies Which Deal with Issues Relating to Other Activities As Reported by 11 Large Texas Daily Newspapers

	Number With Each Policy Type			
Description of Policy*	Code	Written	Unwritten	No Policy
Acceptance of non-media awards	1	2	3	5
Acceptance of media awards	2	2	4	3
Acceptance of "freebies"	6	0	5	0
Moonlighting	4	2	4	1
Participation in community/civic activities	6	0	4	1
Working for competing enterprises	6	2	3	0
Political or ideological activities	7	0	4	0
TOTAL	32	8	27	10
PERCENT	41.6%	10.4%	35.1%	12.9%

* For full text of question see Appendix 3.

As shown in Table 9, when large papers reported that a policy dealing with news gathering or reporting was governed by their code of ethics it most often dealt with issues of fairness, anonymous sources and plagiarism.

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[4] Source: *1993 Texas Newspaper Directory* published by the Texas Press Association.

Table 9

Format of Ethics Policies Which Deal with Issues Relating to News Gathering and Reporting As Reported By 11 Large Texas Daily Newspapers

	Number With Each Policy Type			
Description of Policy*	Code	Written	Unwritten	No Policy
Using false identity	5	0	6	0
Use of stolen documents	3	0	6	2
Use of concealed recording devices	2	0	7	2
Eavesdropping	1	0	5	5
Protection of sources	5	1	5	0
Hiding source with vested interest	4	0	7	0
Achieving balance and fairness	6	2	3	0
Accuracy in reporting	5	2	4	0
Publishing staged/altered photos	4	3	4	0
Using manufactured/doctored reports/quotes	5	2	4	0
Handling morbid/sensational material	4	1	5	1
Use of anonymous sources	6	2	3	0
Plagiarism or use without attribution	6	2	3	0
Use of leaked letters or documents	1	0	8	2
Use of rape victims names	3	3	5	0
Use of names of juveniles involved in crime	2	3	6	0
Use of names of suspects in crime	3	2	6	0
"Outing" homosexuals	0	0	7	4
Protection of privacy	2	0	7	2
Paying for exclusives	4	0	6	1
Suppression of news	2	0	7	2
Boosterism	3	0	6	2
TOTAL	76	23	120	23
PERCENT	31.4%	9.5%	49.6%	9.5%

* For full text of question see Appendix 3.

Discussion

Ethics policies in Texas daily newspapers have become more formal in the past 18 years. While most newspapers continue to rely on informal and unwritten policies for many of the ethical issues studied, the trend toward more formal policies is clear. In fact, one editor interviewed for this report said development of a written code of ethics is one of his management objectives for 1994.

It could be argued that this trend is a measure of the growing sense of professionalism in newspapers. The trend is also important because of the ongoing debate over the whether written codes will be used against the newspapers that adopt them.

An example of this dynamic is seen in the debate surrounding a rewrite of the 20-year-old code of the Associated Press Managing Editors (APME). The draft code, scheduled for final action this year, dusts off a few perennial issues but adds some contemporary ones as well. For instance, the code discourages membership in discriminatory clubs since it "undermines a journalist's credibility." When the code was unveiled to APME members in Minneapolis last year, Richard Winfield, general counsel for the Associated Press, told journalists the code is so detailed that it could backfire if newspapers get sued. "These codes do not exist in a vacuum. Newspapers have many adversaries out there: Libel plaintiffs' attorneys, politicians, government agencies, prosecutors" and other special interests, he said. "To the extent that you knowingly and willingly give these adversaries entry points, hooks and advantages. . . you have made [an opposing attorney] able to prove a case of 'journalist malpractice.'" (Fitzgerald, 1993). In other words, he was concerned that critics might attempt to use the courts to enforce newspaper ethics policies. If he is correct, the trend toward written policies suggested by this study ultimately may lead to a kind of imposed accountability new in newspaper history.

While the data from this study is useful, there are certain limitations. The most important limitation is the size of the population studied and the response rate. This is especially true for smaller papers (less than 15,000 paid circulation). Even data on large newspapers must be viewed in light of the definitions applied. Any categorization of variables, such as newspaper size, is admittedly arbitrary.

In addition, the reporting methods used here tend to give all ethical policy issues equal weight. In reality the importance of issues to a given community or newspaper may vary greatly. For instance, some communities may be much more concerned about balanced reporting than "outing " of homosexuals.

Likewise, the design of the study is based on certain definitions and assumptions. The validity of the study is limited by the extent to which those definitions are correct. For instance, the study assumes that the issues governed by the survey are (a) relevant (b) of current interest and (c) actually define the illusive concept of ethics. One only has to read the current literature and debates in the media to know that the extent to which any issue can be called "ethics" is largely one of interpretation. Findings and conclusions are valid only insofar as the issues identified are valid indicators of an ethics conscience.

Finally, the study can not be used to infer anything about the ethical conduct of Texas newspapers. The true test of ethics is in the way a newspaper conducts its business and fulfills its responsibilities to the public, not what it says or doesn't say in its' ethics policy. In addition, the fact that a newspaper reports that it has a policy on a given issue does not provide enlightenment on what the policy actually says. For instance, does a policy on publication of rape victims names mean the paper will or will not publish the names?

These limitations suggest several areas for additional research. First, the validity of findings would be improved with a better response rate. Only one follow-up letter was sent in connection with the 1993 survey resulting in a disappointing 44 percent overall response rate. By comparison, four follow-up letters resulted in a response rate for the 1975 survey of 77 percent (Evatt, 1976, p. 68). Therefore, additional follow-up letters to non-respondents are likely to improve the credibility of the data.

In addition, from this study codes and other ethics policies can be assembled for content analysis to determine what the policies actually say. In fact, several newspapers submitted copies of their codes with the returned questionnaire. Once the content of codes is understood, the next logical step is to test the effect of codes on journalistic conduct and decision making in the newsroom.

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Appendix 1

Person Completing Questionnaire____

Phone Number (   )__________ Title____________________________________

Circulation Size _______Number of Full-Time Newsroom Personnel ______

(1) Which statement best describes the way you communicate your newspaper's ethics policies to staff? (check one)

☐ (a)*Comprehensive written code of ethics.* This is a set of ethical standards organized and codified into a single document or set of documents (such as employee or management handbook) to give staff comprehensive and specific guidance governing a wide range of ethical issues. When modifications are needed or new topics need to be addressed, the code is updated or amended.

☐ (b)*General written code of ethics.* The code is a set of general principles codified into a single document but which is supplemented, as needed, with more specific written or oral policies or directives from management.

☐ (c) *Informal written standards.* Standards are written and disseminated but are not codified into a single document or set of documents. (Go to Question 4)

☐ (d) *Unwritten standards.* Standards are communicated orally as needed. (Go to Question 4)

☐ (e) *No formal or informal standards.* Issues are addressed on a case-by-case basis. (Go to Question 5)

☐ (f) *Other* (please explain)____

____

____

____

(2) Please provide the date your code was adopted and when it was last amended (if applicable).

Date First Adopted ____________________ Date Last Amended ____________________

(3) Please indicate those statements which apply to your code of ethics (Check all that are applicable):

☐ (a) Our code has been published in our paper.
☐ (b) A copy of our code hangs in our editorial offices.
☐ (c) Our code is distributed to all employees.
☐ (d) We conduct training sessions with employees to make sure they understand and abide by our code of ethics.

(4) Please indicate those employees and officers to whom your ethics policies apply (Check all that are applicable):

☐ (a) Publisher
☐ (b) Editors
☐ (c) Reporters and Editorial Staff
☐ (d) Columnists
☐ (e) Circulation Department
☐ (f) Support & Clerical Staff
☐ (g) Stringers
☐ (h) Photographers
☐ (i) Sports Division
☐ (j) Entertainment Division
☐ (k) Production Department
☐ (l) Advertising Department

(5) The following list suggests areas of ethical concern. Please use the following numbers to describe the way your newspaper handles each issue.

USE	TO INDICATE
1	Issue is governed by our Code of Ethics.
2	Issue is governed by other written policy.
3	Issue is governed by unwritten policy.
4	We have no policy regarding this issue.

SECTION I. NEWS GATHERING AND REPORTING

_____(a) Reporters using false identity, impersonation or trickery (covert coverage).
_____(b) Use of stolen documents.
_____(c) Use of concealed recording devices.
_____(d) Eavesdropping.
_____(e) Protection of sources (granting and preserving confidentiality).
_____(f) Disguising (or withholding) the nature of a source with a vested interest in an issue being covered.
_____(g) Achieving balance and fairness in reporting including attention to cultural diversity issues (gender, ethnicity, race, religion, etc.).
_____(h) Achieving accuracy in reporting including verification of facts and corroboration of critical information.
_____(i) Publication of staged or altered photographs.
_____(j) Use of manufactured or doctored reports or quotations.
_____(k) Handling of potentially offensive, morbid, sensational or alarming material (including quotations, photos, etc.).
_____(l) Use of anonymous sources.
_____(m) Plagiarism or use of material without attribution or permission.
_____(n) Use of "leaked" or surreptitiously obtained letters or documents.
_____(o) Use of names of victims of rape or sexual abuse.
_____(p) Use of names of juveniles involved in crimes.
_____(q) Use of names of individuals who are suspected of criminal activity but who have not been formally charged.
_____(r) "Outing" homosexuals.
_____(s) Protection of privacy of (1) individuals who are not public figures or (2) public figures in the non-public aspects of their lives.
_____(t) Paying for exclusive interviews or exclusive publication rights.
_____(u) Suppression of news—this includes suppression of stories seen as detrimental to your community or its economic base or to the financial interest of your paper; stories that risk encouraging imitators of terrorism or riots; those involving national or military security; and those altered or suppressed in deference to requests from advertisers.
_____(v) Boosterism—this term includes playing up stories or events which are favorable to your community's image or economy; helpful to the financial interests of your paper; or requested by advertisers.

SECTION II. OTHER ACTIVITIES

USE	TO INDICATE
1	Issue is governed by our Code of Ethics.
2	Issue is governed by other written policy.
3	Issue is governed by unwritten policy.
4	We have no policy regarding this issue.

_____ (a) Acceptance of awards or prizes given as the result of contests sponsored by industrial, professional or philanthropic groups other than professional journalism societies or newspaper and media trade associations or foundations dedicated to media issues.

_____ (b) Acceptance of awards or prizes given as the result of contests sponsored by professional journalism societies or newspaper and media trade associations or foundations dedicated to media issues.

_____ (c) Acceptance of "freebies"—this colloquialism means anything of value including junkets or free travel; gifts or gratuities; meals or parties; complimentary tickets, books, records and the like; and product samples provided free or at reduced cost to reporters or editors during the course of their job by either public or private organizations.

_____ (d) Moonlighting—this term means any job, such as teaching, free lance writing or public relations, which is outside one's primary duties with the newspaper and for which one receives additional compensation.

_____ (e) Participation in community, volunteer or civic activities.

_____ (f) Working for competing journalistic enterprises.

_____ (g) Political or ideological activities—this includes such things as campaign contributions, holding public office and giving advice and counsel to campaigns or those seeking elective office.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP!

Please send a copy of your code of ethics and this questionnaire in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

If you would like a copy of the final report, please check here. ☐

MAIL TO: Dixie Evatt
508 Harris Ave.
Austin, TX 78705

OR

FAX TO: (512) 471-7979
Attention:
Dr. George Sylvie

APPENDIX 2

1993 SURVEY

Which statement best describes the way you communicate your newspaper's ethics policies to staff?

	SMALL PAPERS		MEDIUM PAPERS		LARGE PAPERS		TOTAL	
1-Comprehensive Written Code of Ethics	2	11.1%	2	15.4%	4	36.4%	8	
2-General Written Code of Ethics	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	2	18.2%	4	
Subtotal-Code	3	16.7%	3	23.1%	6	54.6%	12	28.6%
3-Informal Written Standards	4	22.2%	3	23.1%	0	0.0%	7	
4-Unwritten Standards	10	55.6%	6	46.2%	5	45.5%	21	
5-No Formal or Informal Standards	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	0	0.0%	2	
Subtotal-No Code	15	83.4%	10	76.9%	5	45.5%	30	71.4%
Total	18		13		11		42	

APPENDIX 3

1993 Question Summary

The following list suggests areas of ethical concern. Please use the following numbers to describe the way your newspaper handles each issue. (1) Issue is governed by our Code of Ethics. (2) Issue is governed by other written policy. (3) Issue is governed by unwritten policy.

Q: FALSE -- Reporters using false identity, impersonation or trickery (covert coverage).

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	5	45.5%	7	16.7%
2-Written	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	0	0.0%	2	4.8%
3-Unwritten	14	77.8%	11	84.6%	6	54.5%	31	73.8%
4-No Policy	2	11.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	4.8%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: STOLEN -- Use of stolen do

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	3	27.3%	4	9.5%
2-Written	3	16.7%	3	23.1%	0	0.0%	6	14.3%
3-Unwritten	12	66.7%	9	69.2%	6	54.5%	27	64.3%
4-No Policy	2	11.1%	1	7.7%	2	18.2%	5	11.9%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: CONCEAL -- Use of concealed recording devices.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	2	18.2%	3	7.1%
2-Written	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	0	0.0%	2	4.8%
3-Unwritten	13	72.2%	10	76.9%	7	63.6%	30	71.4%
4-No Policy	3	16.7%	2	15.4%	2	18.2%	7	16.7%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

APPENDIX 3

Q: EAVES -- Eavesdropping.

		SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL
1-Code	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	1	2.4%
2-Written	3	16.7%	1	7.7%	0	0.0%	4	9.5%
3-Unwritten	11	61.1%	9	69.2%	5	45.5%	25	59.5%
4-No Policy	4	22.2%	3	23.1%	5	45.5%	12	28.6%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: SOURCES --Protection of sources (granting and preserving confidentiality).

1-Code	2	11.1%	1	7.7%	5	45.5%	8	19.0%
2-Written	2	11.1%	3	23.1%	1	9.1%	6	14.3%
3-Unwritten	13	72.2%	9	69.2%	5	45.5%	27	64.3%
4-No Policy	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: INTEREST -- Disguising (or withholding) the nature of a source with a vested interest in an issue.

		SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL
1-Code	1	5.6%	2	15.4%	4	36.4%	7	16.7%
2-Written	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	0	0.0%	2	4.8%
3-Unwritten	12	66.7%	8	61.5%	7	63.6%	27	64.3%
4-No Policy	4	22.2%	2	15.4%	0	0.0%	6	14.3%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: FAIRNESS -- Achieving balance and fairness in reporting including attention to cultural diversity issues.

		SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL
1-Code	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	6	54.5%	7	16.7%
2-Written	2	11.1%	3	23.1%	2	18.2%	7	16.7%
3-Unwritten	14	77.8%	10	76.9%	3	27.3%	27	64.3%
4-No Policy	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

APPENDIX 3

Q:ACCURACY -- Achieving accuracy in reporting including verification of facts.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	2	11.1%	1	7.7%	5	45.5%	8	19.0%
2-Written	3	16.7%	1	7.7%	2	18.2%	6	14.3%
3-Unwritten	13	72.2%	11	84.6%	4	36.4%	28	66.7%
4-No Policy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q:PHOTOS -- Publication of staged or altered photographs.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	4	36.4%	6	14.3%
2-Written	1	5.6%	5	38.5%	3	27.3%	9	21.4%
3-Unwritten	15	83.3%	7	53.8%	4	36.4%	26	61.9%
4-No Policy	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: MORBID -- Handling of potentially offensive, morbid, sensational or alarming material.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	4	36.4%	5	11.9%
2-Written	0	0.0%	2	15.4%	1	9.1%	3	7.1%
3-Unwritten	16	88.9%	11	84.6%	5	45.5%	32	76.2%
4-No Policy	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	2	4.8%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q:QUOTES -- Use of manufactured or doctored reports or quotations.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	2	16.7%	5	45.5%	8	19.5%
2-Written	4	22.2%	2	16.7%	2	18.2%	8	19.5%
3-Unwritten	12	66.7%	8	66.7%	4	36.4%	24	58.5%
4-No Policy	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	12	100.0%	11	100.0%	41	100.0%

APPENDIX 3

Q:ANONYMOUS -- Use of anonymous sources.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	6	54.5%	8	19.0%
2-Written	2	11.1%	3	23.1%	2	18.2%	7	16.7%
3-Unwritten	14	77.8%	9	69.2%	3	27.3%	26	61.9%
4-No Policy	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q:PLAGIARISM -- Plagiarism or use of material without attribution or permission.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.9%	2	15.4%	6	54.5%	9	22.0%
2-Written	2	11.8%	2	15.4%	2	18.2%	6	14.6%
3-Unwritten	13	76.5%	9	69.2%	3	27.3%	25	61.0%
4-No Policy	1	5.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%
TOTAL	17	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	41	100.0%

Q: LEAK -- Use of "leaked" or surreptitiously obtained letters or documents.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	2	11.1%	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	3	7.1%
2-Written	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%
3-Unwritten	14	77.8%	10	76.9%	8	72.7%	32	76.2%
4-No Policy	1	5.6%	3	23.1%	2	18.2%	6	14.3%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: RAPE -- Use of names of victims of rape or sexual abuse.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	3	27.3%	5	11.9%
2-Written	5	27.8%	4	30.8%	3	27.3%	12	28.6%
3-Unwritten	11	61.1%	8	61.5%	5	45.5%	24	57.1%
4-No Policy	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

APPENDIX 3

Q: JUVENILES -- Use of names of juveniles involved in crimes.

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	2	18.2%	4	9.5%
2-Written	4	22.2%	4	30.8%	3	27.3%	11	26.2%
3-Unwritten	10	55.6%	8	61.5%	6	54.5%	24	57.1%
4-No Policy	3	16.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	7.1%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: CRIMINAL -- Use of names of individuals who are suspected of criminal activity but have not been charge

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Code	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	27.3%	3	7.1%
2-Written	3	16.7%	5	38.5%	2	18.2%	10	23.8%
3-Unwritten	14	77.8%	8	61.5%	6	54.5%	28	66.7%
4-No Policy	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: OUTING -- "Outing" homosexuals.

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Code	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
2-Written	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
3-Unwritten	7	41.2%	9	69.2%	7	63.6%	23	56.1%
4-No Policy	10	58.8%	4	30.8%	4	36.4%	18	43.9%
TOTAL	17	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	41	100.0%

Q:PRIVACY -- Protection of the privacy of individuals.

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Code	2	11.1%	0	0.0%	2	18.2%	4	9.5%
2-Written	0	0.0%	1	7.7%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%
3-Unwritten	13	72.2%	11	84.6%	7	63.6%	31	73.8%
4-No Policy	3	16.7%	1	7.7%	2	18.2%	6	14.3%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

APPENDIX 3

Q: PAYING -- Paying for exclusive interviews or exclusive publication rights.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	4	36.4%	5	11.9%
2-Written	2	11.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	4.8%
3-Unwritten	10	55.6%	8	61.5%	6	54.5%	24	57.1%
4-No Policy	5	27.8%	5	38.5%	1	9.1%	11	26.2%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: SUPPRESS -- Suppression of news.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	2	18.2%	4	9.5%
2-Written	2	11.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	4.8%
3-Unwritten	11	61.1%	12	92.3%	7	63.6%	30	71.4%
4-No Policy	4	22.2%	0	0.0%	2	18.2%	6	14.3%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q:BOOSTERISM -- Boosterism.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	2	15.4%	3	27.3%	6	14.3%
2-Written	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%
3-Unwritten	10	55.6%	9	69.2%	6	54.5%	25	59.5%
4-No Policy	6	33.3%	2	15.4%	2	18.2%	10	23.8%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q:AWARDS A -- Acceptance of awards or prizes given other than media organizations.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	1	2.4%
2-Written	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	2	18.2%	4	9.5%
3-Unwritten	8	44.4%	7	53.8%	3	27.3%	18	42.9%
4-No Policy	9	50.0%	5	38.5%	5	45.5%	19	45.2%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

APPENDIX 3

Q: AWARDS B -- Acceptance of awards or prizes given by media organizations.

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	1	7.7%	2	18.2%	4	9.5%
2-Written	2	11.1%	0	0.0%	2	18.2%	4	9.5%
3-Unwritten	7	38.9%	6	46.2%	4	36.4%	17	40.5%
4-No Policy	8	44.4%	6	46.2%	3	27.3%	17	40.5%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: FREEBIES -- Acceptance of "Freebies."

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	3	23.1%	6	54.5%	10	23.8%
2-Written	5	27.8%	2	15.4%	0	0.0%	7	16.7%
3-Unwritten	10	55.6%	8	61.5%	5	45.5%	23	54.8%
4-No Policy	2	11.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	4.8%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q:MOONLIGHTING -- Moonlighting.

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Code	0	0.0%	3	23.1%	4	36.4%	7	16.7%
2-Written	4	22.2%	3	23.1%	2	18.2%	9	21.4%
3-Unwritten	8	44.4%	6	46.2%	4	36.4%	18	42.9%
4-No Policy	6	33.3%	1	7.7%	1	9.1%	8	19.0%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q: CIVIC -- Participation in community, volunteer or civic activities.

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	3	23.1%	6	54.5%	10	23.8%
2-Written	4	22.2%	1	7.7%	0	0.0%	5	11.9%
3-Unwritten	10	55.6%	9	69.2%	4	36.4%	23	54.8%
4-No Policy	3	16.7%	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	4	9.5%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

APPENDIX 3

Q:COMPETE -- Working for competing journalistic enterprises.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	3	23.1%	6	54.5%	10	23.8%
2-Written	5	27.8%	2	15.4%	2	18.2%	9	21.4%
3-Unwritten	10	55.6%	8	61.5%	3	27.3%	21	50.0%
4-No Policy	2	11.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	4.8%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

Q:POLITICS -- Political or ideological activities.

	SMALL		MEDIUM		LARGE		TOTAL	
1-Code	1	5.6%	3	23.1%	7	63.6%	11	26.2%
2-Written	2	11.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	4.8%
3-Unwritten	11	61.1%	9	69.2%	4	36.4%	24	57.1%
4-No Policy	4	22.2%	1	7.7%	0	0.0%	5	11.9%
TOTAL	18	100.0%	13	100.0%	11	100.0%	42	100.0%

APPENDIX 4

1975 Question Summary

Q:STOLEN -- Does your newspaper have a policy regarding the publication of surreptitiously obtained letters or documents?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	1	2.6%	2	9.5%	3	16.7%	6	7.8%
2-Informal	23	60.5%	16	76.2%	14	77.8%	53	68.8%
3-No Policy	14	36.8%	3	14.3%	1	5.6%	18	23.4%
TOTAL	38	100.0%	21	100.0%	18	100.0%	77	100.0%

Q: SOURCES -- Does your newspaper have a policy regarding reporter's duties and obligations to protect confidential sources?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	1	2.7%	4	19.0%	3	16.7%	8	10.5%
2-Informal	27	73.0%	15	71.4%	14	77.8%	56	73.7%
3-No Policy	9	24.3%	2	9.5%	1	5.6%	12	15.8%
TOTAL	37	100.0%	21	100.0%	18	100.0%	76	100.0%

Q:MORBID--Does your newspaper have a policy regarding use of morbid, sensational or alarming details in a story?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	2	5.3%	4	19.0%	2	11.1%	8	10.4%
2-Informal	34	89.5%	16	76.2%	16	88.9%	66	85.7%
3-No Policy	2	5.3%	1	4.8%	0	0.0%	3	3.9%
TOTAL	38	100.0%	21	100.0%	18	100.0%	77	100.0%

Q: RAPE -- Does you newspaper have a policy regarding the publication of names of rape victims?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	6	16.2%	6	28.6%	8	44.4%	20	26.3%
2-Informal	31	83.8%	14	66.7%	10	55.6%	55	72.4%
3-No Policy	0	0.0%	1	4.8%	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
TOTAL	37	100.0%	21	100.0%	18	100.0%	76	100.0%

APPENDIX 4

Q: JUVENILES -- Does your newspaper have a policy regarding publication of the names of juveniles involved in a crime?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	7	18.4%	8	38.1%	7	38.9%	22	28.6%
2-Informal	30	78.9%	13	61.9%	11	61.1%	54	70.1%
3-No Policy	1	2.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
TOTAL	38	100.0%	21	100.0%	18	100.0%	77	100.0%

Q: PRIVACY -- Does your newspaper have a policy regarding the privacy of individuals who are not public officials?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	1	2.8%	2	9.5%	3	16.7%	6	8.0%
2-Informal	22	61.1%	13	61.9%	12	66.7%	47	62.7%
3-No Policy	13	36.1%	6	28.6%	3	16.7%	22	29.3%
TOTAL	36	100.0%	21	100.0%	18	100.0%	75	100.0%

Q: PAYING -- Does your newspaper have a policy regarding the practice of paying for an exclusive interview or for exclusive publication rights to memoirs of persons who achieve public notoriety?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	0	0.0%	3	14.3%	1	5.6%	4	5.3%
2-Informal	14	37.8%	8	38.1%	7	38.9%	29	38.2%
3-No Policy	23	62.2%	10	47.6%	10	55.6%	43	56.6%
TOTAL	37	100.0%	21	100.0%	18	100.0%	76	100.0%

Q: FREEBIES -- Does your newspaper have a general newsroom policy regarding acceptance of "freebies"?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	2	5.4%	4	19.0%	5	27.8%	11	14.5%
2-Informal	20	54.1%	11	52.4%	10	55.6%	41	53.9%
3-No Policy	15	40.5%	6	28.6%	3	16.7%	24	31.6%
TOTAL	37	100.0%	21	100.0%	18	100.0%	76	100.0%

APPENDIX 4

Q:MOONLIGHTING -- Does your newspaper have a policy with regard to "moonlighting"?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	4	10.8%	2	10.0%	5	27.8%	11	14.7%
2-Informal	14	37.8%	16	80.0%	10	55.6%	40	53.3%
3-No Policy	19	51.4%	2	10.0%	3	16.7%	24	32.0%
TOTAL	37	100.0%	20	100.0%	18	100.0%	75	100.0%

Q: CIVIC -- Has your newspaper addressed the question of conflict of interest through policies regulating activities of editorial personnel regarding: (4) participation in community or civic activities?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	1	2.9%	2	10.0%	6	33.3%	9	12.3%
2-Informal	17	48.6%	10	50.0%	7	38.9%	34	46.6%
3-No Policy	17	48.6%	8	40.0%	5	27.8%	30	41.1%
TOTAL	35	100.0%	20	100.0%	18	100.0%	73	100.0%

Q: COMPETE -- Has your newspaper addressed the question of conflict of interest through policies regulating activities of editorial personnel regarding: (5) participation in competing journalistic activities?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	4	10.8%	5	25.0%	6	33.3%	15	20.0%
2-Informal	24	64.9%	13	65.0%	9	50.0%	46	61.3%
3-No Policy	9	24.3%	2	10.0%	3	16.7%	14	18.7%
TOTAL	37	100.0%	20	100.0%	18	100.0%	75	100.0%

Q: POLITICS -- Has your newspaper addressed the question of conflict of interest through policies regulating activities of editorial personnel regarding: (3) active involvement in political or ideological activities?

	SMALL		**MEDIUM**		**LARGE**		TOTAL	
1-Formal	0	0.0%	3	14.3%	6	33.3%	9	12.3%
2-Informal	19	55.9%	14	66.7%	8	44.4%	41	56.2%
3-No Policy	15	44.1%	4	19.0%	4	22.2%	23	31.5%
TOTAL	34	100.0%	21	100.0%	18	100.0%	73	100.0%

Appendix 5

FORMAT FOR SELECTED POLICIES*--1993 Survey of Texas Daily Newspapers

SECTION I--NEWSGATHERING & REPORTING

POLICY: Short Title**	1.Formal		2. Informal		3. No Policy		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
STOLEN	10	23.0	27	64.0	5	11.9	42	
SOURCES	14	33.3	27	64.0	1	2.3	42	
MORBID	8	19.0	32	76.0	2	4.8	42	
RAPE	17	40.0	24	57.0	1	2.4	42	
JUVENILES	15	35.7	24	57.0	3	7.1	42	
PRIVACY	5	11.9	31	73.8	6	14.3	42	
PAYING	7	16.6	24	57.0	11	26.2	42	
Subtotal	76	25.9	189	64.3	29	9.9	294	100.0

SECTION II--OTHER ACTIVITIES

POLICY: Short Title**	1. Formal		2.Informal		3. No Policy		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
FREEBIES	17	40.4	23	54.8	2	4.7	42	
MOONLIGHTING	16	38.1	18	42.9	8	19.0	42	
CIVIC	15	35.7	23	54.8	4	9.5	42	
COMPETE	19	45.2	21	50.0	2	4.7	42	
POLITICS	13	30.9	24	57.1	5	11.9	42	
Subtotal	80	38.1	109	51.9	21	10.0	210	
TOTAL	156	31.0	298	59.1	50	9.9	504	100.0

* Note: This table reflects only those 12 policies covered in both the 1975 & 1993 surveys.

**Note: "Short Title" is a key word for questions on surveys in 1975 & 1993. For wording of question, see Appendices 3 and 4.

Appendix 5

FORMAT FOR SELECTED POLICIES* -- 1975 Survey of Texas Daily Newspapers

SECTION I--NEWSGATHERING & REPORTING

POLICY: Short Title**	**1.Formal**		**2. Informal**		**3. No Policy**		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
STOLEN	6	7.8	53	68.8	18	23.4	77	
SOURCES	8	10.5	56	73.7	12	15.8	76	
MORBID	8	10.4	66	85.7	3	3.9	77	
RAPE	20	26.3	55	72.4	1	1.3	76	
JUVENILES	22	28.6	54	70.1	1	1.3	77	
PRIVACY	6	8.0	47	62.7	22	29.3	75	
PAYING	4	5.3	29	38.2	43	56.6	76	
Subtotal	74	13.9	360	67.4	100	18.7	534	100.0

SECTION II--OTHER ACTIVITIES

POLICY: Short Title**	**1.Formal**		**2. Informal**		**3. No Policy**		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Total	
FREEBIES	11	14.5	41	53.9	24	31.6	76	
MOONLIGHTING	11	14.7	40	53.3	24	32.0	75	
CIVIC	10	12.3	34	46.6	30	41.1	74	
COMPETE	15	20.0	46	61.3	14	18.7	75	
POLITICS	9	12.3	41	56.2	23	31.5	73	
Subtotal	56	15.0	202	54.2	115	30.8	373	
TOTAL	130	14.3	562	62.0	215	23.7	907	100.0

* Note: This table reflects only those 12 policies covered in both the 1975 & 1993 surveys.

**Note: "Short Title" is a key word for questions on surveys in 1975 & 1993. For wording of question, see Appendices 3 and 4.

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Deregulation of Radio Ownership Rules: Analyzing the Economic Impact of Duopoly

by

Sylvia M. Chan-Olmsted*

*Sylvia M. Chan-Olmsted is an assistant professor in the Department of Communication Studies at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois, 60115
Telephone No. (815)7537006

Deregulation of Radio Ownership Rules: Analyzing the Economic Impact of Duopoly

In an effort to avoid a local monopoly of information and entertainment as well as to stimulate diversity, over 50 years ago, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) established duopoly ownership rules, limiting a single entity to own no more than one AM and one FM station in the same service area. As the broadcasting industry entered the 1990s, the arena of competition has changed drastically. Faced with a crowded multichannel media market and a fragmented audience, many radio stations are struggling financially. In one of its initiatives to reconstruct a more appropriate regulatory environment for today's media industries, the FCC liberalized the duopoly ownership rules in 1992. The new rules allow radio operators to own more than one AM and FM station in a market.

Critics of the new rules charged that an overpopulation of signals and commercial inventory is the problem facing the radio industry today and the relaxation of the duopoly rules does nothing to change that but prevents "surplus" stations from leaving the market. On the other hand, the supporters of the deregulatory move predicted that the rule would provide a chance of survival for the radio stations in many smaller markets by cutting costs in operations. Will the modified duopoly rules present a solution to the struggling radio stations or simply allow the powerful station group owners to control even more media properties? This article will examine the economic implications of the revised duopoly ownership rules.

A review on the history of the FCC ownership limitations will be presented first since an understanding of the governmental policy development is pertinent to the discussions of its future regulatory directions and economic implications. To assess the current duopoly status in the radio industry, the benefits of duopoly to media owners and the mergers and consolidation activities after the relaxation of the rules will be scrutinized. The study will further explore the possible economic impact of duopoly on the overall radio industry. Since the recent deregulation of the national multiple ownership rules also influences the industry's market structure on a national level, it will be discussed along with the duopoly analysis.

Background

The wave of deregulation in the broadcasting industry was first initiated over ten years ago in 1981. Under the justification that the nation is moving toward electronic abundance; broadcasters increasingly faced new electronic entrants and should be freed fully to meet these new competitors, then the FCC chairman, Mark Fowler, led the governmental efforts in relaxing media ownership restraints. Opponents of the deregulatory move argued that the proposed "unregulation" was premature as the society was not in an abundant media environment and the American people should receive information from diverse and antagonistic sources (Geller, 1982). More recently, Mosco (1990) contested that the notion of deregulation benefiting consumers is no more than a myth without empirical proof. Supporters for the deregulation trend, argued that ownership limitations, especially the duopoly rules, overlook completely the economics of broadcasting (Shooshan and Sloan, 1982). It was proposed that economic incentives remain constant regardless of the broadcaster's identity or other media interests. Broadcasters will strive to maximize profits by attracting the largest possible audience share. Thus, an owner with two or more broadcast stations in a given market will try to attract different segments of the total local audience by offering a greater diversity of voices, programs, formats, and viewpoints, so to build the largest aggregate audience (Steiner, 1952; Owen, Beebe, and Manning, 1974). Sooshan and Sloan (1982) further contended that the duopoly rules may actually impair competition as well as content diversity and the Department of Justice, not the FCC, should deal with any possible anti-competitive ownership problems.

Today's consumer is indeed in an abundant media environment and the national concentration of other competing media such as newspaper, movie theaters, and multiple cable television systems has increased dramatically (Waterman, 1991). The radio industry is facing a more difficult and complex competition arena for both audience attention and advertising dollars. How did the past public policy lead the development of radio ownership? Can radio be elevated to a more competitive position under the current regulatory climate?

A Trend of Structural Deregulation

Under the mandate of serving the "public interest, convenience, or necessity," the Federal Communications Commission has over the years developed rules to limit the number of stations any entity may own in order to prevent excessive concentration of control over the broadcast media. The Commission believes that the diversification of ownership would diversity the sources of information, ideas, and opinions available to the public, and thus is consistent with the public interest. Such "structural" regulation is often regarded as more compatible with the First Amendment spirit than behavioral regulation on media content or operation (Zuchman, Gaynes, Carter, and Dee, 1988).

The FCC's efforts in limiting the extent of concentration in the broadcast media started with the "Six Station Multiple Ownership Rules," which prohibited an owner from owning more than six FM stations. The purpose of these rules was stated as "to obviate possible monopoly, and encourage local initiative (Howard, 1974)." The television industry that followed was also regulated by similar set of rules in 1940, but the limit of the common ownership was set at "three" under the rationale of limited television band. In 1953, the FCC adopted the "Seven Station Rules," and again in 1985 increased the limit to twelve stations as it concluded that the new rules should pose no threat to the diversity of independent viewpoints in the marketplace since a wide range of new media outlets were available to the public. In 1993, the Commission continued to relax the radio ownership limit to a total of 18 AM and 18 FM stations (to be changed to 20/20 in 1995).

On the local market level, the FCC established the so-called "duopoly" rules in 1940 which banned any single owner from owning more than one station of the same type in the same market (i.e. one owner might have a AM-FM-television combination)(Duopoly Rules, 5 Fed. Reg. 2383 [1940], 6 Fed. Reg. 2282 [1941], Fed. Reg. 16065 [1943]). Thirty years after the first duopoly regulation, the FCC further limited the duopoly ownership to one station of the same type either in radio (AM and FM) or television.

The New Duopoly Rules

In may 1991, the FCC launched a rulemaking aimed at relaxing the radio multiple ownership as well as the fifty-year old duopoly rules. The Commission reasoned that the growing number of radio stations facing financial difficulties justified a review of the rules. The rationale behind the structural deregulation was that radio stations are now competing not only among themselves but also against a large number of media outlets outside of the industry. One way to improve radio broadcasters' ability to compete and serve the public is to allow individual owners to build wider, stronger, and more efficient bases of operation. The FCC first proposed a up-to-six-station local duopoly plan. In 1992, under the pressure from Capital Hill, the Commission finally adopted a more conservative revision which allows up to 2 AM and 2 FM stations in markets with 15 or more stations, however, combination resulting in a market share of 25% or more will "raise a prima facie concern." In markets with 15 or fewer stations, an operator may own up to three with no more than two in the same service. Noncommercial stations will not be counted in determining the number of stations in a market (Flint and Viles, August 10, 1992).

After the duopoly rules were implemented, the industry responded to the new opportunity with a surge of station trading activities (see Table 1 and 2). Especially for FM stations, the trading level was up over 75% from 1992 to 1993. The 402 FM transactions resulted in a $743.5 million total sales volume, almost three times the 1992 total ($254.9 million)(Zier, March 7, 1994). The total station sales dollar volume had also risen significantly from 1992 to 1993. With both the more liberal duopoly and multiple ownership rules in place, the radio industry had an over 70% increase in radio station sales volume.

Table 1 and 2 here

Economic Advantages of Duopoly Ownership

Why would a media company decide to own more than one radio property in the same market? What are the economic motivations behind a local radio multiple ownership? Since "profitability" and "growth" are often the goals of commercial broadcast stations, the benefits of duopoly ownership can be analyzed through either profit raising possibilities in cost savings and revenue increases or market growth potentials.

Cost Reduction

By combining accounting, computer, engineering, news, promotion, sales, or/and general manager departments, duopoly stations may reduce joint cost significantly for their owners. Such an economic incentive is especially attractive as operating expenses are on the rise in the industry and being lean and mean is perceived to be an essential competitive advantage while competing against the media from outside of the radio industry.

Revenue Gain

If two competing stations are jointly owned, the station revenues may increase because the stations will no longer be under pressure to cut rates in competition with each other. Logically, the elimination of "rate competition" would very likely contribute to the revenue growth in at least one of the stations. However, many analysts claimed that combinations do not automatically double cash flow or revenue (Sukow, September 21, 1992). Most industry observers agree that there will be cost savings, but not everyone agrees that there will be aggregate revenue increases (Viles, July 27, 1992).

Market Growth

By expanding the number of radio stations a radio group can own in a single market from two to four, the revised duopoly rules allow previously topped-out station groups to continue the growth by buying more stations in desirable radio markets. The liberalized 18 AM/18 FM national multiple ownership limits further foster a market environment for expansion. The growth opportunity is especially appealing in the top markets, where owning a radio station is often regarded as a ticket to profitable business ventures. Strategically, duopoly means a more dominant market position and bigger market share for station group owners both locally and nationally.

It seems that while cost reduction is the more realistic economic benefit for media owners eyeing multiple local radio stations, desire for further growth in profitable markets may be the attractive advantage for radio group owners to enter the duopoly game. Nevertheless, history has shown that radio is a management-intensive business that awards entrepreneurial spirits. The operation of radio stations is often situational and offers no cookie-cutter solution. Consequently, there are substantial differences among various operators as how they run duopolies. Some radio groups, such as Paxson Broadcasting, practice aggressive cost-cutting and consolidation of station operations, while some others, such as Infinity Broadcasting, insist on running stations separately, with the exception of having sales managers trade pricing information (Viles, November 30, 1992, April 19, 1993). The different management approach would probably influence the realization of the proposed benefits. In fact, the choice of management and operation style could very much depend on the size of the duopoly market and consequently affect the benefits realized. For example, smaller markets may benefit considerably from the cost-cutting approach, while the bigger markets offer more of the growth advantage.

How has the market responded to the changes in its regulatory environment? Have there been more duopoly arrangements in big markets, middle, or small markets? Are there certain patterns of consolidations among radio group owners? The answers would largely determine if the FCC met its objectives in implementing the duopoly rules.

Duopoly Trading Analysis

Since the September of 1992 when the duopoly rules went into effect, there have been numerous duopoly applications to the FCC.

A 1993 tally shows that FM duopoly applications involving 450 stations have been filed with the FCC, while 65 stations are represented in AM duopoly filings (Viles, September 6, 1993). In an effort to analyze the nature of the duopoly trading activities, the author reviewed the information on station sales from the transaction records published by the industry trade journal, Broadcasting and Cable, between September 1992 and December 1993. If the buying party of a reported sale also owns financial interest in any same class radio station in the same service area (i.e. FM ownership when purchasing a FM station, AM ownership when purchasing a AM station, or either AM or FM ownership when purchasing a AM-FM combo), the transaction was considered a duopoly deal. All duopoly sales were then grouped into different market clusters based on Arbitron's 1992 Area of Dominant Influence (ADI) market rankings to assess the degree of duopoly transactions in different size markets. The author also divided all of the station sales into FM-FM, AM-AM, and AM/FM combination with AM or FM duopoly categories to examine the trend in duopoly station buying.

Table 3 here

Trading Levels by market Size

During this period, there were 160 completed duopoly station sales involving over 340 FM and AM stations. Among these duopoly transactions, five percent of them occurred in the top 10 ADI markets, nine percent in the 11-25 ADI markets, 34% in the 25-100 markets, 24% in the 101-263 markets, and 28% in the markets unranked by Arbitron. Of the 160 duopoly sales, 75% involved FM-FM stations, 9% AM-AM stations, and 16% AM/FM combination with either AM or FM stations. Consistent with the current analysis, according to a survey done by National Association of Broadcasters, many duopoly trading occurred in the smallest markets. Unranked markets accounted for 29.8 of duopoly sales, and 101-plus markets were close behind with 25.6%. (Staff, Oct. 4, 1993). It seems that for the most part, duopoly is accomplishing what it set out to do: consolidate the middle and small markets, where station move-ins in the late 1980's contributed to an overvalued market and led to a glut of underperforming stations. Consolidation is occurring in rural areas as well, almost 30% of the duopoly deals took place in markets unranked by Arbitron. FM-FM duopoly deals significantly outnumbered AM-AM transactions, even with the AM/FM combo duopoly, FM-FM arrangements were still three times as prevalent as the other two combined. If one of the FCC objectives for duopoly was to make AM stations more desirable media properties and thus elevate them to a more competitive and profitable market position, the goal has yet to be realized.

Major Mergers and Acquisitions

While the duopoly rules foster a series of trading activities between stations serving overlapping markets, the relaxed multiple ownership rules which allow each radio group to own up to 36 stations nationally further encourage "station group owners" to utilize the duopoly opportunity as a market expansion strategy. Major leading radio groups may now more conveniently merge with other station groups without violating local as well as national ownership rules. For example, after the rule changes, Disney's Shamrock Broadcasting merged with Malrite Communications, both top 20 radio groups, forming a 21-station group with a duopoly in the number four radio market, San Francisco. Clear Channel Communications also merged with Metroplex which brought in seven new radio stations and created a duopoly in Tampa, Florida (Zier, March 7, 1994). One of the station group owners, Infinity, actually became the second biggest radio group by using the "duopoly" market expansion strategy with numerous acquisitions of duopoly stations in major broadcast markets such as New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, and Boston. The combination of duopoly and national multiple ownership rules have obviously benefited many radio group owners. More market share analysis of the leading radio groups will be presented in the following section of duopoly effect.

As market conduct of industry leaders often influences the overall competitiveness and sets the trend of business strategies in an industry, it is important to investigate the patterns of duopoly trading among major radio groups. Such an analysis also provides more insight on the possible economic effect of the duopoly rules.

Top Radio Groups' Duopoly Trading Patterns

By examining the major duopoly arrangements occurring since late 1992, the author identified five trading patterns emerging from the leading radio groups' duopoly trading activities.

Pattern I: Format Domination. To have the dominant stations in a certain popular radio format seems to be an notable strategy in some major radio groups' duopoly investments. For example, Capcities/ABC purchased NewCity Communication's WYAY(FM) for $19 million in the Spring of 1993. The deal gave ABC three separate country stations in Atlanta, making it the dominant country format in the market. The duopoly gives ABC a 13.8 share of the Atlanta market. Group W, working through station swap with Viacom in Houston and Washington, D.C., also became the leading country format in Houston by owning the top four country stations in the market. Since radio is a format targeting medium, dominating a popular format in a local market would probably represent great advertising revenue potential for the duopoly owners.

Pattern II: Duopoly Station Swap. There is also a growing trend toward station swaps in major radio markets. For example, Cox Enterprises and EZ Communications traded stations in the Fall of 1992, creating new mega-combos in Miami and Charlotte. Cox swapped WSOC(FM), a leading country station in Charlotte, for EZ's urban/adult contemporary WHQT(FM) Miami. After the straight no-cash trade, Cox owns three strong stations in Miami with two different formats, reaching a combined share of 14.1%. EZ, on the other hand, stakes a solid claim to market leadership in Charlotte with an adult contemporary/oldies FM station and a country FM station with a total of 18.9 share of the market.

No-cash duopoly trading is attractive because of the tax advantages of cash-free transactions and the shortage of credit. The swap transaction also offers the opportunity of owning another media outlet without breaking the cross ownership rule with TV station ownership. Furthermore, such swaps make it possible for station groups to consolidate their holdings into fewer markets without increasing their debt or their total investment in radio. Even one of the more cautious top radio groups, CBS, joined the duopoly swap game. In 1993, CBS and Cox, swapped stations in Dallas and Tampa, leaving both groups with new FM-FM combinations. CBS traded its Tampa station for Cox's Dallas station, giving CBS two FM's with a 9.3% share of market revenues in Dallas and Cox two FM's and an AM with a 20.2% share of market revenues in Tampa. Other leading radio groups such as Viacom, Group W, Noble, and Shamrock Broadcasting have also tried such trading strategy (Viles, May 18, July 12, 1993).

Pattern III: Major Market Only Duopolies. Ownership of stations in the top 10 radio markets is often regarded as a lucrative business opportunity. Thus some radio group owners aim to take advantage of the relaxed duopoly rules by focusing on major market purchases, even though there has been an upsurge in these top market stations' prices (Zier, March 7, 1994). For example, the number two radio group in the industry, Infinity, raised to its current dominant position through a series of duopoly buys in five of the top 10 radio markets. Its purchase of KRTH(FM) Los Angeles for $110 million actually set a record on radio trading prices.

Pattern IV: Midsize Under-Radioed Market Duopolies. Some radio group owners would rather bypass the big budget duopoly buys and focus on more reasonably priced midsize markets that do not have an overpopulation of radio stations. By entering these under-radioed markets with duopoly stations, the owners would be able to catch a substantial amount of market share instantly. For example, Prism Radio has stated that buying niche-format stations in under-radioed midsize markets is the duopoly strategy it prefers (Gallagher, December 14, 1992). Prism purchased two radio AM/FM combos in Tucson, Arizona late 1992 for $8.5 million, creating the first duopoly in the market. After the purchase Prism controls half of the $16 million radio revenue base in the market.

Pattern V: From Local Marketing Agreements (LMA) to Duopoly. This duopoly trading pattern is not unique to radio group owners. Many radio stations, both group-owned and stand-alone, that were involved in LMA are exercising buyout options to form duopolies.

When a radio station enters a LMA agreement with another station, the other station may be managing, programming, and selling commercials for both stations, but the owners remain responsible for the station operation. The trend of LMA is spurred by a soft advertising market. Since LMA do not require FCC approval, many radio stations facing financial difficulties see them as a more convenient cost-cutting strategy and possible safeguard against premature transfer of ownership control. Duopoly seems to be a natural conclusion to the radio stations that have discovered the advantage of cost-sharing through local marketing agreements.

Economic Effect of Duopoly

The economic effect of duopoly has yet to be fully realized since the new rules have only been implemented for less than two years. Nevertheless, based on the economic notion of duopoly and the market trading analysis discussed, we may gauge the present as well as potential economic effect of duopoly on the radio industry.

Changing Programming Approach

The product of a commercially supported radio station is its audience. The type of audience a radio station attracts is often a result of its programming approach. Though some radio station owners such as Infinity has stressed that duopoly will not in any way influence the programming strategy of their radio stations, the incentive of cost-sharing in programming would very likely affect the way many duopoly stations design their programming product. Some degree of programming change in at least one of the duopoly stations would be especially welcomed in smaller markets where cost-cutting is essential for survival. For instance, consolidation of ownership may result in increased demand for syndicated programming. The proliferation of local marketing agreements has demonstrated that station owners used format syndication to cut cost. A controlling station may want to bring a new niche format into the market at minimal cost. In fact, many format syndicators have been using duopoly marketing strategy to sell their product (Viles, May 18, 1992).

The consolidation also somewhat changed the programming approach of the FM band, where music stations have been pairing up in strategic combinations. For example, two or three FM music stations may become the dominant players in a certain format such as "country music" through duopoly. Each duopoly station may then focus on a sub-format of country music such as "traditional country" to further differentiate themselves, while retain the basic music appeal and some degree of cost-sharing benefit. As for AM-AM combinations, most of the AM duopolies are built at least partly on the popularity of talk radio. Thus, programming changes would also be inevitable for some AM stations to avoid talk programming redundancy.

A better and more efficient strategic lineup in programming through duopoly ownership should pose positive economic impact to the radio industry. The potential benefit to station owners could either be a reduction in programming cost or/and an increase in advertising revenues because of the improved programming. As for the radio audience, if a consolidation of programming formats does occur due to a duopoly merger, it is very unlikely that the audience will be left with less content variety or non-local programming since localism and niche programming are such important elements to the success of any radio stations, duopoly or not. Furthermore, if duopoly means survival for small market stations and programming changes is a major strategy to realize the benefit of duopoly, the audience would certainly profit from the duopoly effect in a long run.

Reducing Employment

By the end of the 1990's, total employment at radio stations might drop by 25% as companies form larger, more efficient station combinations. According to the FCC annual employment report, total employment in commercial radio had already dropped by 12% from 1989 to 1992 (Viles, September 6, 1993, November 15, 1993). As group owners are increasingly discovering that the new duopoly stations can be run with a single general manager, a single sales manager, a single business manager, and a single chief engineer, more jobs probably would be eliminated. Is there any positive economic implication from such a reduction of employment? The answer is yes and no. By putting marginal stations in the hands of the managers who are more experienced and the owners who are in better financial position to fix problems, duopoly makes radio a stronger industry in the long run. Nevertheless, reduction of radio employment also translates to both temporary economic and social cost to our society.

Station Group Consolidations

The combination of the relaxed duopoly and national multiple ownership rules have provided tremendous growth opportunities for radio group owners. While certain leading station groups such as CBS became even larger, some medium-sized groups such as Shamrock rose to the top by merging with their competitors. How has the deregulatory move shifted the power structure of the radio industry?

Table 4 here

Table 4 shows the top 20 radio groups and their duopoly and multiple ownership in 1991, 1992, and 1993. Mergers, consolidations, and duopoly arrangements have somewhat changed the face of the leading radio groups after 1991. For instance, Shamrock was ranked 16 in 1992. With its merger with eighth-ranked, Malrite, the new group became the number five radio group in 1993. Also, Booth American, which was 23rd in 1992, merged with Broadcast Alchemy to achieve a slightly higher ranking with larger markets despite fewer stations. Infinity's rise from number four to number two was achieved as a result of the duopoly buying strategy. The duopoly rule change also helped account for moves up the list by station groups such as Susquehanna, EZ Communications, Evergreen Media, Clear Channel, and Jefferson-Pilot. Without participating in any mergers or acquisition, CBS was able to stay on top of the radio groups in 1993 through its station swap strategy, still taking advantage of the relaxed duopoly rules.

What is the duopoly status of the major station groups? Has duopoly contributed to many radio groups' stay on top of the chart? Table 4 shows that nine out of the top 10 radio groups had duopoly ownership in 1993. Only three radio groups listed did not have any duopoly stations. Interesting enough is that these groups' rankings have either been static or declined from 1991 to 1993. On the other hand, EZ Communications rose from number 22 to 18 with the help of four duopolies, Clear Channel from 19 to 13 with five duopolies, and again Infinity to the number two spot with five duopolies. Duopoly has obviously strengthened many radio groups' leading positions on the chart.

Overall the radio industry has become somewhat more concentrated after the rule changes. The combined audience shares of the top four, eight, or 12 station groups have increased 7-11% from 1992 to 1993 (see Table 5). The reshape of power structure occurred especially among the mid-range top five to 12 leading radio groups. Since the composition of the top radio groups has shifted, the duopoly rules may not have made the powerful radio groups much more powerful but instigated a market condition that requires the group owners to incorporate the duopoly strategy to stay on top. Such a strategic trend may actually open the competition arena to more group owners, at least at the middle to top level.

Table 5 here

Threat to Stand-alone Stations in Small Markets

Duopoly is a major fundamental change in small markets and as indicated in the trading activities analysis, many duopoly deals occurred in small markets. Consolidation is supposed to reduce the number of entities fighting for advertising dollars. However, fewer station owners does not mean fewer stations. In small radio markets with limited advertising revenue sources, stand-alone stations may be the loser when competing with group owners that have higher combined market share and more financial resources. Since duopoly could simply mean fewer owners sharing the same revenue pie with the same number of stations, the stand-alone stations are faced with a tougher battle by not utilizing the duopoly strategy. In addition, stand-alone small-market stations are less likely to expand. Very often they are unable to convince local banks that radio is a good risk because there are few securable assets. While the FCC's goal of duopoly is to make the radio industry more competitive not only among themselves but also against other outside media by building wider, stronger, and more efficient bases of operation, the result of duopoly may also have polarized the economic conditions of the duopoly-have and duopoly-have-not stations in the already financially challenging small markets.

Conclusions

Duopoly is a good investment strategy for the financially stressed radio market. But it is not the salvation of the industry. Move stations to more experienced management and financially sound owners may be good for the marketplace. Nevertheless, combining the management and ownership of two stations will not necessarily lead to a significant increase in revenue. It is on the expense side that the true advantages of duopoly surface. By combining management, engineering and other operation functions, the cost of operating two stations can be significantly lower than the cost of operating them separately.

The combination of the more liberal duopoly and national ownership limits have pushed up station trading and values in the radio industry. Such trend, coupled with the advertising recovery, is making radio a healthier industry. While major radio groups have benefited from the rule changes by owning duopoly stations in top markets, stations in the mid-size and small markets were also able to utilize the duopoly opportunity to survive. Duopoly is, however, encouraging the development of bigger radio groups and creating some drawback to a certain class of radio stations. The author believes that the overall economic contribution of duopoly outweighs such side-effect. The departure of some less competitive radio stations is inevitable for many overpopulated radio markets and the medium's unique localism and format differentiation characteristics would still ensure a diverse and responsive programming content to its local audience, regardless of the types of station ownership. In addition, evidence shows that the rule changes have allowed certain reshape of power structure, while somewhat increased the concentration level in the market. Again, radio is a "local" medium, even a concentrated national market does not necessarily translate to less competition at the local level. It is important to note that the positive economic implications of duopoly might be discounted when the element of cross-ownership is introduced. At the time when Congress is moving to give the FCC more flexibility in granting cross-ownership waivers between newspapers and radio and the relaxation of TV multiple ownership rules, the government has to be cautious in granting approval of duopoly transactions involving other cross-media ownership. Any risks of anti-competitive conduct because of ownership concentration in various media must be weighed against the efficiency cost benefits of large size that duopoly brings.

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Table 1

Numbers of Radio Station Transactions

	1990	1991	1992	1993
AM	377	275	252	231
FM	244	296	228	402
AM/FM Combos	218	228	203	219

Note. Compiled from "Station Sales Rebound in '93" by Zier, J. A., 1994, March 7. Broadcasting & Cable, p. 37.

Table 2

Dollar Volume of Radio Station Transactions (in millions)

	1990	1991	1992	1993
Dollar Volume	$1279.67	741.69	921.40	1572.17
% Change	--	-42%	24%	71%

Note. Compiled from "Station Sales Rebound in '93" by Zier, J. A., 1994, March 7. Broadcasting & Cable, p. 37.

Table 3

Markets with Duopoly Station Sales

	Market 1-10	Market 11-25	Market 26-100	Market 101-263	Unranked Market
No.	8	15	55	38	44
%	5%	9	34	24	28

	FM-FM	AM-AM	AM-FM Combo-AM or FM
No.	120	15	25
%	75%	9	16

Table 4

Top 20 Radio Groups and Their Multiple and Duopoly Ownership

	1991			1992			1993		
Radio Group	Rank*	# of Stations	# of Duo	Rank	# of Stations	# of Duo	Rank	# of Stations	#of Duo
CBS	1	19	0	1	21	0	1	22	1
Group W	2	18	0	2	16	0	3	18	1
Cap/ ABC	3	21	0	3	19	0	4	18	1
Infinity	4	17	0	4	22	3	2	26	5
Emmis	5	8	0	10	5	0	10	5	0
Cox	6	14	0	5	13	1	7	14	3
Bonneville	7	14	0	7	14	0	9	15	1
Gannett	8	14	0	9	15	0	11	11	0
Malrite**	9	10	0	8	10	0	5	18	1
Viacom	10	13	0	6	13	0	6	14	4

*Ranking is based on a group's total number of listeners 12-plus in Arbitrons survey. Sales pending with the FCC are counted as part of the buyer's group.
**Malrite was merged with Shamrock in March 1993.

Note. Compiled from "Radio's Top 20 Grous," Broadcasting, May 13, 1991, p.30-31; "Radio's Top 25 Groups," Broadcasting, Nov. 16, 1992, p.55-56; "Radio's Top 25 Groups," Broadcasting, Dec. 6, 1993, p.84-86; "Ranking TV and radio's top players," Broadcasting & Cable, March 21, 1994, p.52-56.

(Table 4 continued)

	1991			1992			1993		
Radio Group	Rank*	# of Stations	# of Duo	Rank	# of Stations	# of Duo	Rank	# of Stations	#of Duo
Great Ameri	11	18	0	14	17	0	20	13	1
Greater Media	12	14	0	11	15	1	12	14	2
Summit	13	11	0	13	8	0	15	7	0
Susquehanna	14	16	0	15	15	0	14	16	1
EZ	15	14	0	22	10	0	18	14	4
Nationwide	16	15	0	20	13	0	22	11	1
Sham rock**	17	14	0	16	14	0	5	18	1
Noble	18	18	0	21	18	0	N/A		
Booth Ameri+	19	18	0	23	20	0	19	14	2
Evergreen Media	20	6	0	12	12	0	8	11	2
Jacor	N/A			17	12	0	17	13	2
Clear Ch.	N/A			19	24	0	13	26	5
Jefferson Pilot	N/A			25	12	0	24	13	2

+Booth American was merged with Broadcast Alchemy in 1993.

Table 5:

Top Radio Groups' Audience Share*

	1991	1992	1993
Top 4 Firms			
Audience No.	44266300	49202200	52680200
% Change	--	11%	7.1
Top 8 Firms			
Audience No.	67260600	71068100	78617200
% Change	--	5.7	10.6
Top 12 Firms			
Audience No.	84767000	88349100	97906600
% Change	--	4.2%	10.8%

*Rankings and audience shares are based on a group's total number of listeners 12-plus in Arbitron's survey.

Note. Compiled from "Radio's Top 20 Grous," Broadcasting, May 13, 1991 p.30-31; "Radio's Top 25 Groups," Broadcasting, Nov. 16, 1992, p.55-56; "Radio's Top 25 Groups," Broadcasting, Dec. 6, 1993, p.84-86; "Ranking TV and radio's top players," Broadcasting & Cable, March 21, 1994, p.52-56.

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THE GREENS GO ONLINE:

Interactive Media and the Environmentalist

Science Communicators Interest Group
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
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Jane B. Singer
Ph.D. candidate
School of Journalism
University of Missouri-Columbia
Box 838
Columbia, MO 65205

(314) 882-7763
jourjbs@muccmail.missouri.edu

Jane B. Singer
Ph.D. candidate
School of Journalism
University of Missouri-Columbia
Box 838
Columbia, MO 65205

ABSTRACT

The Greens Go Online: Interactive Media and the Environmentalist

Environmentalists have taken to interactive media like a duck to unpolluted water. They recognize the opportunities offered by these new media to build and strengthen a community, and to facilitate communication among its members. But the fact that the journalist no longer stands between the source and the receiver of environmental information does not mean he or she must relinquish a vital role in the process of communication among inhabitants of this online world. Indeed, the need for the journalist to make sense of the exploding volume of environmental information -- to provide, among other things, balance, context and a measure of skepticism -- is greater than ever.

"Early activism was really more heart than fact. Local activists didn't have any idea if what they were facing had happened elsewhere. ... Now they can go to public hearings with assembled ammunition about what has happened in Europe or somewhere else in the world. ... It's going to be the leading tool in the 1990s."

-- Don Rittner, author of a book on "ecolinking" and leader of environmental forum on America Online[1]

"It's a matter of information equity. Some people operate with more information than others. This will give the smaller groups leverage."

-- Bill Sims, executive director of The Together Foundation, which offers the Ecoline program and TogetherNet database[2]

"With this, you have an impression that we have one big team, one big force. ... I don't know who these [other] people [online] are, but we open saying `Hi, friend' and end with `A big hug.' There's this feeling that we have incredible strength together."

-- Ramona Degraaf, an Canadian environmentalist who tracks rain forest timber issues in Borneo, describing her use of online networks to communicate with other activists[3]

In the old days -- ten years ago, say, or even five or six -- an environmental organization that wanted to get its message out faced problems no matter which route it chose. It could create a newsletter (or, if it was fortunate enough to have the wherewithal of a Sierra Club or a Greenpeace, even a real magazine) to be mailed to far-flung subscribers. But not only are newsletters costly to print and mail, they have a nasty tendency to undermine their own message of conservation of such resources as timber (paper) and oil (inks and physical delivery mechanisms). Environmentalists could pick up the telephone, but reaching supporters or other like-minded individuals who lived farther than a few miles away was prohibitively expensive for groups whose financial pockets tend to be shallow. Or a local phone call could be made, to the hometown newspaper reporter or television producer, in hopes of "selling" a story. Choosing this option, however, meant giving up at least some measure of control over the way the story, once sold, would be conveyed to the public.

Today, there's another viable alternative, and it's one environmentalists have been drawn to like flies to that consummate organic product, honey. People of all shades of green, from the deeply committed to the merely curious, are using interactive media to find each other, to seek and share information, and to attract newcomers. Entire online networks are devoted solely to electronic conferencing about environmental issues; the largest, EcoNet, covers hundreds of topics and includes environmental news and database services as well. Rice University organizers have created an Environment and Ecology "gopher" on the Internet that contains no fewer than 145 menu items, from auroral activity to water quality assessment. Consumer-oriented media such as America Online add environmental resource libraries, discussion groups and software available for downloading. Library- and business-oriented interactive services such as Nexis/Lexis provide access to additional environmental information sources, searchable databases and even specialized news wires such as Greenwire.

This paper will look at two aspects of the online boom: its implications for the community of people interested in environmental issues and its effects on the journalist's role in communicating environmental information. The shortcomings of traditional media coverage of science and environmental issues have been well-documented in both the scholarly and trade press; online media address many of those shortcomings, but pose other problems as well. The intersection of the journalistic and environmental communities has been marked by frustration among members of both groups, as described below. Despite interaction and feedback among participants in the communication process, detailed in Stephen Lacy's reworking of the Westley-MacLean communications model, print and broadcast media still provide an essentially linear flow of information among message sources, senders and receivers. Interactive media, by definition, enable a two-way flow of information among members of overlapping online communities, fundamentally changing the nature of communication that takes place.

Online communication offers an attractive alternative for the environmentalist who wants to get a message out to other current or potential members of the environmental community cheaply, quickly, globally -- and without any mediation, thank you. If the civic landscape has indeed changed and the journalist no longer guards the gate between the source and receiver of a media message (if, indeed, such a distinction between members of the communication process is sliding rapidly toward obsolescence), what is his or her role in this new world of information delivery and retrieval? This paper proposes that, given the simultaneous explosion in both interest and available information about environmental issues, the journalist may in fact be even more important now than ever before.

THE SHIFTING IDEA OF COMMUNITY

A quick summary of a few key ideas about media and community formation are in order before turning to the online environment. In the early part of this century, members of the Chicago School, drawing on previous work by sociologists such as Durkheim and Tonnies, offered the idea of communication as the "process whereby a culture is brought into existence," a source of social order and cohesion.[4] Subsequent scholars built on these ideas and, in so doing, cast them in quite a different light. In the continual and ongoing shift from a time-based oral tradition to space-based communication, according to Canadian historian and communications scholar Harold Innis, the structure of interests (the things thought about), the character of symbols (the things thought with) and the nature of community (the area in which thought develops) all have been altered -- and not for the better.

Modern communities, Innis said, are mobile, rooted not in time but in space, connected over vast distances by symbols, forms and interests. As long-distance communication improves and short-distance deteriorates, human relationships shift to a horizontal dimension: Large numbers of people are physically separated but tied to centers of culture, politics and power. The problem, said Innis, writing in the age of television but before the advent of computers as pervasive communication tools, is that we replaced the right to speak to one another and inform ourselves with the right to be spoken to and informed by others. The mass media created a division between producers and consumers that resulted in an essentially private system of communication -- one contrary to the premise that democratic life necessitates true public discourse. Mechanical communication transformed the reading and listening public info a reading and listening audience, with frightening consequences for democracy.[5]

Partly in reaction to the themes of hierarchy and isolation inherent in these and related ideas, scholars in various fields have explored the concept of participatory knowledge and a dialogic process of community-building. They have protested the idea that some types of knowledge are inherently better than others, focusing instead on the empowerment of each individual member of the community (or, at a broader level, the society). Their contributions have ranged from Brazilian Paolo Freire's work in the educational sphere to the more general "communitarian" idea of a commitment to open conversation (face-to-face, in the original construction) among equals, based on dialogue, discourse and trust. Journalistic communitarians say community cannot be resuscitated without the leadership of the press. They urge that the press actively engage in civic transformation, with the goal of furthering dialogue that will lead to construction of a social order built on justice, covenant and empowerment.[6]

In this world view, the ability to respond to other community members is key -- again, a feature inherent in online communication, but a generally limited and cumbersome process in traditional media. Communitarianism models social life on the organization of a village or small town, though those working within its framework have incorporated the idea of "global discourse communities" defined by "like-mindedness, political and intellectual affiliation" and made possible by communication technologies[7] -- not the least of which are online media, still growing by leaps and bounds in form and number.

If anything, online media may be too useful as tools in the formation of new communities such as the one discussed here, whose members share an interest in the environment. Many who worry about these things have raised the warning that these media make it far too easy to narrowly define the information one receives and the people with whom one communicates -- to the detriment of what's left of the geographical community, a community that also demands loyalty and concern. It also is quite true that the benefits of the unobstructed and unmediated flow of online communication accrue only to those with access to a computer and a modem, plus the ability to use them, leaving out a substantial portion of the population. On the other hand, the number and diversity of people who now can participate in the "public discourse" has increased exponentially in comparison to those who could do so before, particularly in countries where access to traditional forms of information is not as free as it is in our own. Moreover, that number is growing, both here and elsewhere, for a wide range of social, economic and technological reasons.

However, this paper's immediate concern is with the community of environmentalists as it exists today. With these ideas in mind, the ways in which activists and scientists have been served by traditional media will be outlined, followed by a description of how that community is using some of the new forms of communication and a consideration of the role of the journalist in this new online world.

ENVIRONMENTAL REPORTING: COMMENT AND CRITICISM

It was only about 25 years ago that "the environment" was first perceived as a major news category unto itself; individual or separate problems began to be seen as a broad and definable area of public concern, much as disparate events can be recognized as relevant to the economy or to education.[8] By the late 1970s, according to one study, readers -- especially those under 30 -- were ranking the environment as one of the most interesting content categories in the newspaper and one they would be sure to make room for if they were the editor.[9] By the 1990s, eight in ten Americans identified themselves as environmentalists, and the media were scrambling to heed the call for information. The Society of Environmental Journalists, non-existent four years ago, had 850 members by 1993.[10] In just two years, between 1988 and 1990, a dozen environment-related syndicated features and news services were launched, ranging from "Tips for Planet Earth" to weekly packages of environmental stories.[11] The size of the news hole devoted to environmental news coverage tripled between 1987 and 1990 in the nation's three news weeklies and in five nationally influential newspapers.[12] In 1992, five months after George Bush declined to commit the United States to the principle of biodiversity at the international Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, the Senate's most visible environmental advocate was elected vice president.

The environment was, by anyone's definition, News. But, for those at what traditionally has been the other end of the communication process -- the sources of environmental news -- the old ways of disseminating information have continued to pose problems.

As the number of stories has increased, so has attention to what those stories are saying. A number of studies in the 1970s and 1980s looked at the perceived accuracy of science news. Environmental news rarely was considered separately in these studies, a fact that highlights environmentalists' frustrations with traditional media coverage. Environmental issues have involved a mix of politics, public policy, economics, ethics and a host of other issues that isn't quite the same as the mix that goes into other areas of science. In general, environmentalists have had even less access to the media and, at least partly as a result, less legitimacy than other areas of science -- a problem that may be addressable with new forms of communication.

One of the first science news studies, published in 1970 by Tichenor et. al., indicated that while members of the scientific community had sometimes-sharp words for science reporting in general, an overwhelming 94.5 percent rated articles that quoted them personally as accurate. Their chief criticisms were that science news gave too much emphasis to the unique, omitted relevant information and carried misleading headlines.[13] The accuracy studies that followed varied in their details, but the criticisms were strikingly similar.

* A study published in 1974 by Tankard and Ryan gave scientists a fairly lengthy list of potential errors and evoked a higher rate of dissatisfaction with the accuracy of science reporting. But the types of errors cited most often were familiar, with the omission of relevant material, misquotes and misleading headlines popping up most often. (The least-cited potential problem in this study was release of confidential information. Scientists seem more concerned with the way information is presented than with its appropriateness for public consumption; overwhelming majorities in various studies have agreed on the importance of getting science news to the public.)[14]

* A follow-up study offered respondents fewer potential problems from which to choose and came up with a higher overall satisfaction rate. But again, poor headlines and the omission of important

information were common problems, with misstatements of fact also cited more than 25 percent of the time.[15]

* Later studies looked at the accuracy of magazine and network news reports relating to science. The most frequent flaw across the types of magazines studied: relevant information was left out.[16] In addition to the omission of detail, inadequate air time was cited as a major problem with televised science news. The core of the problem, one respondent told researchers Moore and Singletary, was with the editing: "Essential material is deleted to the point where conclusions seem illogical or even ridiculous." Viewers, said another, get "the basic idea but no real knowledge of scientific events."[17]

It seems, then, that while some of the scientific community's dissatisfaction with the way information is distilled through the mass media and eventually reaches the public relates to accuracy, a large part has to do with what's not included in the printed or broadcast version. It's not so much that the information is wrong as that it's incomplete, in the eyes of these sources. One solution is to write the article yourself, which has always been an option; one study in the early 1980s revealed that almost a third of the scientists surveyed had written an article themselves.[18] With online media, there is no longer so much as a copy editor between source and receiver -- and the communication flow between the two, in both directions, is unimpeded.

Other studies of specific aspects of environmental and science reporting have uncovered similar sentiments. As one investigator of hazard coverage pointed out, news stories based on lengthy research reports are invariably selective. They omit results deemed of less importance than others, they omit qualifications, they overgeneralize findings. And they almost always fail to discuss research methods, underlining the fact that carelessness may have little to do with perceived problems in a science story: Scientists and journalists may simply differ in their news judgments[19] -- with dangerous implications for environmental news of all sorts. For example, one 1980 Science article took the media to task for focusing on "false bad news" about population growth, natural resources and the environment, "based on flimsy evidence or no evidence at all. ... We should not shrug off false bad news as harmless exaggeration. There will be a loss of credibility for real threats as they arise, and loss of public trust in public communication. The question, then, is: Who will tell us the good-and-true news? How will it be published for people to learn?"[20] Environmental groups using online media to send the details of their latest triumphs around the globe probably think they have the answer to that one (as well as to the question of who will get out the bad-and-true news, so that pressing problems can be dealt with more effectively). The flip side: Without any less overtly biased intermediary to help distinguish between real and false threats, the Chicken Littles of the online world may be even harder to recognize.

In general, press coverage of environmental risk has been widely criticized -- especially for the lack of risk information provided. One recent study focused on news quality of environmental risk stories as assessed by journalists, scientists, environmental advocates, and industry and government representatives. The stereotypical image of both journalists and advocates is that they love to upset the apple cart (an image scoffed at by such media critics as Ben Bagdikian, who point to journalists' reluctance to fundamentally challenge either big business or big government). Yet advocates gave their highest ratings to stories they believed were accurate and emphasized risk information -- challenging the researchers' expectations that they would prefer stories that set off alarm bells in the public mind. In fact, they were less extreme in their desire to alarm the public and undermine trust in institutions than traditional news sources -- scientists, as well as industry and government officials -- were in their preference for stories that reassure the public and build trust. Perhaps, the researchers suggest, traditional sources have a deeper desire to support the status quo than journalists and advocates have to undermine it.[21] Or perhaps journalists and advocates are simply more concerned with disseminating accurate information (whatever they perceive it to be) than in mobilizing the masses; online media facilitate both the dissemination and access aspects of the process.

In fact, many of these studies have raised issues that turn out to be directly relevant to a consideration of online information. For instance, there is some evidence that articles based on press releases receive higher accuracy ratings than those originating in other ways. "It appears that factors that point to more specific, purposive control of public communication in the science organization contribute to the production of more accurately understood messages," the Tichenor study found;[22] in the study of network news reporting, 63 percent of the science stories that originated in a news release were judged "entirely accurate," compared to only 27.3 percent of stories that originated in a personal interview.[23] And Tankard and Ryan reported that the only significant variable relating to accuracy, as seen by the scientists, was whether the source had been able to read the story before its publication. Though relatively few of the stories in the sample were "previewed" in this way, the mean of their number of reported errors was approximately half that of stories that were not seen in advance.[24] Online environmental communication is, in some ways, a giant chain of press releases, a string of information and responses to that information entirely controlled by members of the online community -- an idea those members may find very appealing.

Are constraints of time and space forcing the elimination of details considered too lengthy or esoteric for the mass audience? Organizations can (and do) easily send out an entire scientific report electronically, leaving it up to the individual at the other end to skip it, scan it or study it word by word; whole databases of such reports are available online. Is coverage of particular environmental issues too much at the mercy of the cyclical nature of press interest, too vulnerable to being squeezed off the agenda of salient issues for public debate?[25] Even the smallest of environmental groups, with the most narrowly focused interest, can secure a spot on the Internet and get its shot at keeping the fires burning.

If the scholarly press has been mildly critical of science news reporting, journalists themselves have been less restrained. A 1993 survey revealed that nearly three out of four journalists believe reporters lack the background and training to cover environmental stories; fewer than one in ten thinks the public perceives the press as a very good source of unbiased information on the environment. (Indeed, a separate study found that while environmental news is the fastest-growing subject of interest among readers, only one in four is satisfied with newspaper coverage.)[26] In a 1990 Quill article called "Sense and nonsense on the environment," a Detroit News editorial writer lambasted the press for its lack of understanding of environmental issues, suggesting the "net result of the journalistic failure to examine environmental data and hypotheses carefully is that while many environmental programs have worked well, most have been colossally wasteful."[27] A CJR item suggests journalistic "business as usual" -- an insatiable appetite for new angles, an unrelenting focus on current (as opposed to future) crises, the trend toward bite-sized news -- means the really big stories are getting away untold.[28]

A study by FAIR found the "economic hook" was one of the most popular frames for environmental stories (perhaps continuing a trend noted as early as 1982, when research findings indicated the frequency of environmental stories on protection or degradation issues in the nation's most influential print media had fallen to one-third that of 1970, while economic and developmental articles about the natural environment had doubled in frequency[29]). Changes on behalf of the environment, the FAIR study found, were portrayed as valid only if they were seen as "affordable" by the business people and economists interviewed. Environmentalists also had their say -- during Earth Week. "During the rest of the year, environmental advocates seemed to participate in the discussion less and less," and environmental concerns, some newspapers hinted, were perhaps only a fad.[30]

Journalists also must wrestle with the ethical problem of advocacy: When is the line crossed between journalism and activism? The question is not only whether journalists can be impartial, but whether they should be. Or, as one writer put it: "Can reporters see 1,000 dead birds in a cyanide pond without being affected? Can they do a story on the cultural consequences of nuclear waste dumping without caring?"[31]

These questions and concerns all approach the heart of the issue of the ability to bypass the journalist's traditional gatekeeper role in the formation and development of an online environmental community. Members of that community have chosen to belong to it; they have taken a positive act of expressed interest. There is a fundamental psychological and behavioral difference in participating in the exchange of information as a member of a community and in being at a fixed point in a comparatively linear communication flow. This difference applies to journalists as well as to the people who, in traditional media, make up the journalist's audience -- and sources.

Many of the suggestions that journalists have offered for how coverage of environmental issues can be improved are worth returning to later, after a look at how environmental groups are using online media today, because they offer a starting point for a synthesis of traditional and novel forms of journalism. Among them:

* Journalists need to "be there": Nothing beats eyewitness reporting. "Is the logging road really polluting the stream? Is the beach really eroding? Don't take a source's word for it."[32]

* Environmental reporters "have got to stop being a patsy and a puppet for someone else. They've got to do their own reporting and dig

up records. They've got to question both sides and somewhere, try to arrive at the truth."[33]

* On the other hand, "reporting that `side A says this and side B says this'" isn't enough. The reporter must "go beyond just presenting the claim and counterclaim and look at the evidence."[34]

* Journalists must know their sources ... but they must also be aware that they can know them too well and empathize with them too much. Reporters should seek sources whose backgrounds and values differ from their own.[35]

* Journalists must "be skeptical of all new findings" and must consider "the financial interests of the people who came up with the research."[36]

THE GREENS GO ONLINE

For months in advance of the Earth Summit in Rio, members of non-governmental organizations from all over the world had been talking and working together, exchanging documents, making plans, developing strategies. Yet most of them had never laid eyes on one another. All their communication took place through EcoNet, the online network that provided the means of organization and coordination on which results in a change-oriented movement depend.[37]

EcoNet spokespeople describe the network, one of several under the San Francisco-based Institute for Global Communications, in terms of information: as "an information-exchange tool" or an "information intermediary." But it is information with a purpose: to serve a particular community, be it with general ideas about becoming a more knowledgeable voter or shopper or with details of how to stop a logging truck with a monkey wrench. "It's not like watching `Our Green Planet' on TV," says Assistant Director Jill Small. "EcoNet isn't a mass-market application. We're not a mass-market eco-anything." People who use the network have "gone through a self-selection process," she adds. "They've made a conscious decision to do something about their beliefs and ideas as (they extend) to the environment."[38] They have chosen to join a community by the fact of their participation in it.

The heart of such services -- and, advocates say, their true strength and value -- lies in the online "conferences," or discussion groups relating to any of the hundreds of topic areas participants decide they want to talk about. There is no question about following a media agenda -- or any other set agenda, for that matter. Whatever any of EcoNet's 16,000 users worldwide want to discuss, they discuss. They can upload and download articles, reports, legislative alerts, press releases, educational materials, directories or anything else they like.[39] Small communities can tap in to larger ones, using electronic mail gateways to dozens of other networks, in ever-widening circles. The shortage of information cited as a criticism of traditional media reports is, to say the least, no longer a problem.

EcoNet is an enormous, fluid, global database, whose contributors include a broad spectrum of members of the environmental community, encompassing such environmental groups as Greenpeace and Sierra Club, educational services such as the Global Action Network, as well as individuals around the world -- but it's far from the only one. The electronic delivery of information has opened up a vast number of niches, and in the best ecological spirit, the rush to fill them is on. Dozens of online environmental databases are available through services such as NewsNet, Dialog or Nexis/Lexis. Some, such as one containing information about the 12,000 organic chemicals and metals released into the environment, are available only in online form. Others are interactive versions of printed publications, such as the Environment Business Journal or Environment Week; still others, such as Enviroline, correspond to printed materials (Environment Abstracts, in this case), but offer such digital advantages as keyword search.[40]

Government information that can be all but impossible to unearth -- for journalist or activist -- becomes easily accessible through such databases as the Right-to-Know Network, which collects U.S. Environmental Protection Agency data on toxic chemicals released in routine manufacturing activities.[41] For those who believe old news is no news, there are environmental wire services both specialized (such as the Global Warming Network Online, which provides daily information from 100 sources on global warming and ozone depletion) and general (such as Greenwire, an environmental news wire whose staff creates abstracts of newsletter items.)[42]

Then there's the Internet, yet another vast network of online information. As mentioned, even the list of environmental materials available through the Internet is enormous (Rice's extensive environmental gopher isn't even the only one), although much of it overlaps with materials available on EcoNet or elsewhere. Again, the information ranges from the very specific ("Pesticide Dumping in Eastern Europe") to the very general ("Biosphere"). And again, environmental groups are making use of this medium to reach their audience; the Sierra Club's National News Report is available through the Internet, for example, as is Greenpeace's Toxic Trade Update.

Unlike EcoNet or even the Internet, some online services do see themselves as mass media applications -- and see as well, just as traditional media do, that one way to reach individual members of that mass audience is to cater to their particular interests. The computer offers a golden opportunity to do so by letting users zero in on specific information they want. America Online offers an extensive environmental section. It includes Save the Planet software, available for downloading; transcripts of CNN and TBS network environmental shows; a resource library offering environmentalists' press releases, reviews of environmental books and updates of congressional activity on environmental issues; a compilation of environmental news stories from general-interest wire services, plus access to the Environmental News Service; and plenty of opportunities to discuss "many of the pressing environmental issues facing our society and the world."[43]

The PRODIGY service, America Online's chief nationwide competitor with close to 2 million "members" (an interesting choice of terms, indicative of the company's desire to foster the idea that those who use the service belong to an online community or even extended family), has less extensive environmental information. However, it does include an archive of Consumer Reports articles on environmental issues (from air quality to wood fires), a science news section, and a Science and Environment bulletin board for discussion of such topics as government regulation, wildlife and waste management. Services such as Prodigy offer other attractions for environmental groups. Earth Share, which raises funds for 39 environmental groups including the National Wildlife Federation and the Nature Conservancy, recently ended a nine-month advertising campaign on Prodigy that brought in more than $54,000 in pledges; in its first month alone, the ad drew more responses than the group's public service TV spots pulled in a year. Moreover, "we were able to look at how our screens tracked with people by age breakdown, by demographic breakdown, by ZIP code," Earth Share executive director Kalman Stein explained. "The ability to know precisely who's looking at your messages ... is an enormous capability that you simply don't get in traditional media."[44]

The amount of all sorts of online environmental information obviously is daunting. The point here is not an exhaustive list (which would be impossible anyway) but an attempt to demonstrate the range of material out there and the ways in which it address concerns about traditional media coverage of environmental issues. What makes online media so attractive to members of a community that previously relied on mass media to facilitate discourse? Among their biggest advantages:

* They're relatively cheap and easy, at least for people who have, and are comfortable using, a computer and a modem. For the seeker of information, the cost of getting it online is tremendously attractive in comparison with any viable alternative -- even if, given the extent of information available, a viable alternative could be imagined. The Internet is, basically, free. After a one-time start-up fee of $15, EcoNet costs $10 a month, plus $5 to $10 an hour for usage. America Online and Prodigy are continually revising their rate

structures, but they range from $10 to $15 a month, plus varying usage charges for segments of their service. Online communication also is cost-effective for the environmentalist, who can reach an unlimited number of people as easily as reaching one, and can do it with minimum expenditure of costly resources, both financial and ecological.

* They're global. The sense of community, solidarity and power that computer networks offer to people in environmental and other social movements has been difficult for them to achieve otherwise, particularly in light of the overwhelming resources commanded by the corporations and governments they're often fighting.[45] That capability has been of particular value to scientists and activists in developing countries, where information can be scarce or hard to come by. The potential impact of systems such as TogetherNet, which were designed specifically to link environmentalists around the world, is enormous. "As Americans, we have access to all sorts of information and don't take advantage of it," said Mark Dubois, president of a Sacramento-based group that monitors investment activities of the World Bank. "But a lot of the world doesn't have that access. This could really help citizens who have felt like: `What can I do?'"[46]

* They're very detailed and very specific. The complaint about the omission of relevant material from a news article vanishes with a medium that has no time or space constraints. The amount of information obtained becomes wholly dependent on the desires of the community member. That's not to say everything anyone wants to know will be there -- or that what <u>is</u> there will necessarily be any more accurate than it ever was. Nor is the meaning extracted certain to

correspond any more closely to the meaning that was intended. But the balance of power has shifted; the journalist no longer is needed to disseminate information. Moreover, the information receiver and the information source have, in many cases, become one and the same. The interactivity of the medium means the communication flow is continuous, to the point where differentiation becomes meaningless.

* They're terrific lobbying tools. Not only can online media link members of the environmental community, but they can provide an entree to other online communities as well -- including ones with political clout. Missives sent through "digital democracy" still have a big impact on a Washington bureaucracy inundated by lobbyists and inured to obviously orchestrated mass mailings. Groups such as Sierra Club have become adept at using computers to prod members to bombard targeted lawmakers with personal letters on demand.[47] EcoNet includes e-mail links to facilitate such campaigns. The Oval Office now has an Internet address; within two months of Bill Clinton's inauguration, an average of 700 people a day were sending e-mail to the White House.[48] (Special letter-writing software programs -- some with details about policy makers, their voting records and names of key aides -- also are available.[49]) Computers are making environmental activism easy.

WHAT ABOUT THE JOURNALIST?

Online media are, in many ways, an excellent development for members of the environmental community. They introduce possibilities for true dialogue into the information process. But with all the wonders of this direct online interaction, a few things are missing.

They are subtle things, and there is a danger that people (journalists included) will not realize how much they are needed until they are gone. Skepticism, for one. Context, for another. At least an ostensible sense of balance, for a third. A multitude of voices has long been considered a great thing, and the computer does, at least potentially, open up the communication process to people who never had access to it before -- but it also gives each member of that multitude an unprecedented and perhaps irresistible inducement to choose to hear only those other voices that sound most like his or her own.

Many of the journalists who have criticized environmental reporting in existing media have started by citing the need for skepticism. Environmentalists have an agenda. Online media, in all the ways outlined above, are terrific tools for helping them meet it. Journalists have a different agenda, or they should. It's their job, for instance, to uncover the fact that the solution to one environmental problem (wind power to replace reliance on dirtier fuels, to take one example) may create its own environmental problem (noise pollution from loud generators).[50] It's their job to find out when environmentalists are exaggerating in an effort to raise funds, or when a flood of online discussion can be traced to someone's desire to influence a particular piece of pending legislation, or even when business and industry leaders are actually right and an environmental initiative is likely to do a community more harm than good.

It has been hard, as journalists have pointed out, to walk the line between advocacy and fairness, to present a balanced view of an issue without resorting to an enumeration of claims and counterclaims that lead only to a stalemate detrimental to the immense problems at hand. With online communication, an observer who is as balanced as possible may be more important than ever, as the medium is overrun with activists who are, by definition, quite determinedly prejudiced. Rational discourse among members of the environmental community is vital, and its impact is global. Involving more people in the process of making decisions is a commendable trend -- if those people have the information they need to make their decisions wisely.

This last point raises the issue of context. The amount of information accessible instantly to anyone sitting at a keyboard may be manageable to a computer but is well beyond the capabilities of any human being. There's simply far too much of it. Computer users exult in the ability to locate specific information with ease -- but finding a separate piece that may be crucial to understanding is another matter. Besides, hunting for information may be rewarding, but it's a lot of work -- and the jargon on electronic boards and databases can be every bit as daunting as the jargon in a technical journal.

If the need for the journalist to provide basic information has been reduced, the need for the journalist to provide understanding has been greatly increased. Someone must be able to think about the issues more broadly (or, conversely, more narrowly, by applying them to a geographically local community), to connect seemingly disparate bits of information and make sense of them. "Sense-making" is what good journalists have always done, and what they must continue to do as the sheer volume of readily accessible "facts" multiplies.

Furthermore, the ease with which computers allow members of any online community to turn their backs on other communities (especially those "offline") encourages an alarming trend. People who choose to communicate only with others who share their views and concerns risk isolation from other members of society. In an age of specialization, there is much to commend the journalist's unabashedly "mass" approach, if only to remind people that they are part of a physical and social community that requires the participation of all its members.

And what about accuracy, the subject of so much research into dissatisfaction with the way journalists have distilled the information they obtain? Part of the problem has been the logistical constraints of traditional media; new media substantially ease those constraints of space and time. What remains is largely a broader issue of education. The journalist, of course, has the same online tools for expanding his or her understanding as everyone else. In addition, an increasing number of schools offer science journalism courses and the University of Colorado runs a Center for Environmental Journalism, with classes, projects, workshops and fellowships.[51] The skills needed to understand the issues can be learned; they form the basis for the skepticism, the balance and the contextual framework the journalist must bring to a job now in the process of being redefined.

The fact that a journalist no longer automatically stands between the environmentalist and the receiver of the environmentalist's message does not mean journalism has no role in this new online community. Quite the contrary. Rather than excluding the journalist, the development of online media can and should be seen as a way to bridge the gap between journalist and "audience." Instead of mediating between two separate communities -- of newsmakers and news consumers -- the press becomes a part of a single online community.

Thinking about the best way to serve a community of which one is an active member entails a different mindset from thinking about a community of which one is a permanent observer but never a participant. Far from obviating the need for good journalism, it demands the skills described above and others besides. Those skills start -- and it is only a start -- with the knowledge of how to use the computer as a medium in its own right, as a facilitator of informed "dialogue, discourse and trust" among all community members. Beyond the obvious need to take advantage of the unprecedented wealth of background material and story ideas available online, beyond the ability to plug in to people's interests and opinions and concerns, beyond the ability to suddenly expand the "magic Rolodex" of possible sources by exponential proportions, beyond the new-found capacity to talk (on deadline, even) to other reporters and editors from Albania to Zimbabwe -- beyond all these gee-whiz aspects of online technology, the journalist needs to learn that the computer is, as the environmentalist has shown, a tremendously powerful and increasingly pervasive tool for the development of a community, a society, a world. That is the journalist's job. A vital job it is -- and will remain.

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The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow: Robert M. Hutchins's Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism

By Fred Blevens
School of Journalism
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri 65205
314-474-7732
Internet: c602759@mizzou1.missouri.edu

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The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow: Robert M. Hutchins's Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism

Robert Maynard Hutchins became president of the University of Chicago in 1929. At 30, he was called the "boy wonder," the youngest of the nation's university heads. The second in a family line of Yale graduates, he was of Victorian pedigree, unsoiled by what historian T.J. Jackson Lears calls the ethos of abundance,[1] perhaps the most noticeable cultural signpost in America's journey to consumerism. Hutchins's own commencement address at Yale paraphrased Matthew Arnold, the architect of 19th century high brow literary canons:

> . . . if our college life has been idyllic, haphazard, humoristic, without any infusion of scholarship, it has merely reflected American life. . . . If at college we have never tasted what may be called the sweetness and glory of being rational animals, it is because America does not know or highly esteem that sweetness and glory. And we are products of America. Where shall our country find its leaders if not among that two percent of her population who have been favored by four years of college?[2]

The Enlightenment's rational animal was the cornerstone of Hutchins's belief in philosophy as knowledge, a foundation that provided for a raucous career as an educator and social critic who danced on the fringe of American politics. Not given to compromise or effective persuasion, he nonetheless engaged a decades-long discourse of ideas, preaching strong belief in principles-based democracy that threatened to turn back the clock on John Dewey's turn-of-the-century pragmatism.[3] Great ideas from their original sources - Aristotle through Mill - should hold sway over facts. The scientific method was a subservient tool to test hypotheses of ancient great thinkers.[4]

Committed to absolute liberal education, Hutchins was an antagonist to proponents of socialization, big-time athletics, electives and vocational opportunity. The Hutchins Plan, limited to success at Chicago and St. John's University, prescribed two years of Great Books study in a reformed, metaphysical curriculum beginning in the traditional junior year of high school. Then, that Arnoldian 2 percent could go forth to the highest rungs, while the majority, armed with Athenian and medieval tools to pursue truth and virtue, tackled proletarian tasks.[5]

On its face, Hutchins's democracy-through-education was Victorian in the first order and as highbrow as Arnold would want. But Hutchins's birth on the cusp of the consumer age positioned him to dominate the middle third of the century as a key purveyor of middle brow culture. Indeed, he took his pre-tested Great Books program and marketed it to the masses in hopes of promoting democracy through high culture to America's expanding middle classes. At a price of about $250, he made available for popular consumption the classics, what Dwight Macdonald has called "a few plums in a vast tasteless pudding of mediocrity."[6] In Arnoldian fashion, Hutchins led a group of other highly educated white men in drawing a canon of what America should read: the works of still other white men, mostly dead Greeks, and some of the Founding Fathers. Excluded were women, blacks, modernists and all but a few poets, essayists and masters of nonfiction.[7]

At the same time, Hutchins, whose career otherwise was full of boisterous beginnings and comparatively sedate conclusions, made a profound impact on low journalism as head of a blue-ribbon panel that spent three years studying the media's paradigms and predicaments. It was another panel of highly educated white men who drew up five conventions that constitute the framework for ethics and the current social responsibility theory of the press, a construct that has long since displaced the Enlightenment principles of libertarianism. These conventions demanded the press find "truth behind the truth," serve its constituencies with distributive justice and fairness, and provide complete news and analysis.[8]

Like nearly all of Hutchins's endeavors, the Great Books campaign and his Commission on Freedom of the Press drew sharp criticism. Macdonald and other "midcult" critics declared Hutchins and his hand-picked Great Books disciples disdainful and dangerous, making them frequent targets of critique in their decidedly highbrow "little magazines." Those in low journalism complained that demands for pluralism, higher standards and audience participation encroached on their editorial self-determination. Those in high culture were concerned that blurring class lines were destroying elitist control of Arnold's "best," that "midcult" proponents were expropriating the "plums" for the masses, most of whom probably did not deserve them and surely could not be expected to understand their significance. Macdonald explains:

> . . . a work of High Culture, however inept, is an expression of feelings, ideas, tastes, visions that are idiosyncratic and the audience similarly responds to them as individuals. Furthermore, both creator and audience accept certain standards.[9]

Like Hutchins, Macdonald yearned for better times, when life could be reduced from complicated cultural calculus to simple math:

> If there were a clearly defined cultural elite here, then the masses could have their kitsch and the classes could have their High Culture, with everybody happy.[10]

But Macdonald's vitriolic definition of midcult as a "peculiar hybrid" from the "unnatural intercourse" of high and mass culture illustrates its difference from Hutchins's version of the democratic assumption:

In Masscult the trick is plain - to please the crowd by any

> means. But Midcult has it both ways: it pretends to respect the standards of High Culture while in fact it waters them down and vulgarizes them.[11]

Macdonald obviously held no reserve for those who would use mass culture to consume and pervert high culture's sacred estate. Save the critiques of those such as Alan Bloom, much of today's criticism is comparatively mellow, perhaps because mass culture, like it or not, has carried the day. This study, too, adopts the milder tone and approach of Joan Shelley Rubin's The Making of Middle Brow Culture. Specifically, it focuses on the second aim of Rubin's methodology, designed to "reassess the fate of the so-called genteel tradition in modern America":

> When George Santayana introduced that label in 1911 to describe an attenuated Calvinist strain in nineteenth-century American literature and philosophy, he provided a convenient epithet for the perpetrators of the dichotomy between "highbrow" and "lowbrow."[12]

Rubin further refutes arguments that genteel culture died in the early century; that, in fact, its purveyors carried forth through the 1940s. As evidence, Rubin plots a half dozen or so cultural points on the century's time line, from the Book of the Month Club to high culture on commercial radio. Rubin's reassessment sheds new light on Hutchins's "democratic" intent or need to use exclusionary commissions to draw restrictive canons for high culture and inclusionary conventions for low journalism. Hutchins fell both within Rubin's construct of the genteel middle brow and Macdonald's brutal definition of "midcult." The Hutchins calculus sought regression toward the cultural mean, an equation designed to exert very genteel social control in a culture trampled by immigration, industrialization and mass democracy.

By examining first his roots in 19th century Victorian culture through the historicity established by Daniel Walker Howe, Hutchins's heritage can be placed in the intellectual gentry of Victorian culture, the cultural elite who carried the values forth in the genteel tradition. Hutchins's involvement in these two important movements of high- and low-brow culture can be analyzed through the public and printed discussion of key figures in what David A. Hollinger describes as the discourse of "shared questions." These two issues do not constitute Hutchins's life or thoughts, but they serve best to position him as a prince, if not the king, of mid-century middle brow culture. For purposes of this study, the author has adopted Howe's definition of culture as:

> . . . an evolving system of beliefs, attitudes, and techniques, transmitted from generation to generation, and finding expression in innumerable activities people learn: religion, politics, child-rearing customs, the arts and professions, *inter alia*.[13]

The evidence here, examined upon this background, makes clear that Hutchins's roots in the intellectual gentry had a significant impact on two extremely important sectors of America's culture. Hutchins's life revolved around means and ends, shared questions on democracy and moral duty. As will be seen, however, his means no longer achieve his stated ends, if ever they did.

The Trail of the Hutchins Intellectual Gentry, 1899-1927

On 17 January 1899, Robert Maynard Hutchins was born in Brooklyn to the Reverend William James Hutchins of the Bedford Presbyterian Church. He was the second of three children, the offspring of a second generation of well-educated Calvinist preachers. His grandfather, Robert Grosvenor Hutchins, was an 1862 graduate of the nonsectarian Williams College, "when less than 1 percent of the male college-age population of the country got a higher education." Robert G. Hutchins went on to ministry training at Union Seminary in New York and Andover Seminary in Massachusetts, then established the family's first presence in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1886 as pastor of he Second Congregational Church and a trustee of Oberlin College.

His son, William, made his way from Yale in 1892 to Union, later moving young Robert and the rest of the family to the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, where William finished his schooling and joined the faculty. Oberlin, a nonsectarian institution that had produced the likes of George Herbert Mead, was the "first college in the United States to admit women and Negroes," and it was the college in which William Hutchins chose to initiate a teaching career that eventually lead to the presidency of a small school in the Kentucky foothills. Young Robert's family life on the "Puritan island" was further enriched by his mother's degree from Mount Holyoke.[14]

But it would be the Oberlin intellectual environment that provided a key to Robert Hutchins's contentious life. Hutchins aide and biographer Milton Mayer writes:

> "Public questions" were as much the essence of Oberlin as the abolition of all forms of sin. The college had been a station on the Underground Railroad . . . The Martyrs' Arch memorialized the Oberlin graduates who as missionaries had been killed in the Boer War.[15]

After William's switch to academe, the Hutchinses were as comfortable as any family in Oberlin. William's annual salary had more than doubled to $2,000, a decent family wage for the time and place. These social and economic constructs were primary in Robert Hutchins's descendence from Victorian culture. His heritage was purely British-American (Irish and Scottish), Protestant (Calvinist-Presbyterian), bourgeois (middle class). The family had reaped what Howe calls "tangible rewards" (upward social mobility) and "intangible" ones, "such as participation in a larger cultural matrix." The Hutchinses also had followed the spread of Victorian culture into the countryside, where they were firmly ensconced in an "identifiable segment with the bourgeoisie" known as the "American gentry" that began developing during the antebellum period:

> These people were trying, very self-consciously, to humanize the emergent industrial-capitalist order by infusing it with a measure of social responsibility, strict personal morality, and respect for cultural standards. They thought of themselves as preserving certain patrician values while democratizing their application.[16]

Their intent, Howe continues, was to order the cultural and social norms through "a massive educational and propaganda effort." For their institutions, the gentry turned to "universities, private secondary schools, and the civil service." From Oberlin, two sons followed their father to Yale; one selected education, the other missionary work in the Yale-in-China program. Third sibling Fannie became a neuropsychiatrist.[17]

The Hutchinses' Yale-Oberlin connection was not surprising, given the regional affiliations of Victorian culture in the late 19th century. Oberlin, in fact, was near the heart of the geographical zone known for its abolitionist Yankee "Presbygationalists" of the New Haven school.[18] The Hutchinses' Victorianism was classical, following Howe's description of values "to work hard, to postpone gratification, to repress themselves sexually, to 'improve' themselves, to be sober, conscientious, even compulsive." All were crucial to rational order of individual and society, which also demanded an emphasis on competition and future orientation: "Their ambition, their interest in education, their willingness to reinvest profits, all show their concern with planning ahead and using time wisely."[19] All, in fact, played a part in Robert Hutchins's world view.

Historians long have argued the date of Victorian culture's demise as an official cultural phenomenon. Many use Einstein's 1905 theory of relativity as the benchmark, but a more pertinent measure for a study of Hutchins is the work of John Dewey, his Chicago School of Thought and the emergence of pragmatism. In October 1903, Harvard's William James wrote to Mrs. Henry Whitman:

> Chicago University has during the past six months given birth to the fruit of its 10 years of gestation under John Dewey. The result is wonderful - a real school and real thought. Important thought too! Did you ever hear of such a city or such a University? Here we have thought, but no school. At Yale, a school, but no thought. Chicago has both . . .[20]

That glowing recommendation failed to deter young Hutchins's predestined retracing of the family's intellectual gentry at Yale. He finished undergraduate work at Oberlin, served two years in World War I, then set off for New Haven in 1919, at about the same time his father was taking over the reigns of Berea College, another Puritan island noted for its abolitionist mission at inception in 1855.[21] There, William Hutchins preached and taught the family's philosophy of knowledge and first principles: "All truth, wherever learned, used to be, and will once more become the property of men of thought throughout the world."[22]

At Yale, Hutchins befriended two classmates of Victorian backgrounds with whom his high- and lowbrow concerns would converge. One was future Time founder Henry Luce, a Presbyterian preacher's son; and the other was future advertising scion William Benton, also the son of a preacher-turned-teacher. Although Hutchins broke the Puritan proscriptions against wine and women at Yale, he retained and perhaps strengthened his resolve for putting principles first. After brief stints at private school teaching and fund-raising at the Yale Corporation, he graduated magna cum laude from the law school in 1925, then joined the faculty.[23] In two years, Hutchins was promoted to associate professor, became an expert on rules of evidence, developed an impressive curriculum vitae and became dean of the law school. There, he launched the first of his many education reform campaigns by attempting to expunge the practice of teaching law by case method. He wanted a curriculum based on the study of the underlying principles of jurisprudence. By doubling faculty size and reducing enrollment, Hutchins hoped to encourage faculty research. The whole plan, like many to follow, never developed fully, but the "boy wonder's" ambition earned him the job of president of the University of Chicago.[24]

Hutchins vs Dewey: Middle Brow Pugilism, 1944

The foundations of Hutchins's version of the democratic assumption rested on three premises: Humans are rational animals, principles must come first and philosophy is knowledge. The goal, in very simple terms, was illustrated in 1939 by Mayer, the Hutchins public relations maestro:

> The prospective physician, for instance, would emerge from medical school knowing not only how to save other people's lives but what do with his own.[25]

No analysis of Hutchins's middle brow proclivities could be complete without an examination of his discourse with pragmatist Dewey, whose work with Mead was admired by many educators with an interest in controlled propulsion of the technological juggernaut of industrialization and mass society. Dewey, who had left for Columbia by the time Hutchins arrived, continued the debate for 15 years after the Hutchins Chicago inaugural.

A philosopher, psychologist and educator, Dewey served the

Chicago faculty from 1894 (five years before Hutchins's birth) to 1904. He believed the best of all worlds was to be found in his Laboratory School, where the theories and constructs of progressive education could be practiced and tested. Dewey thought education should be focused on the student rather than the institution and that authoritarian methods offered modern students no realistic preparation for democratic life. Such an approach, therefore, emphasized pragmatism, the striving to find practical applications of ideas in everyday life. Sociologist Dennis Smith wrote, "Underlying pragmatism was a dogged faith in the capacity of human effort - and the tendency of social change - to produce rational and benevolent outcomes."[26]

It was that word "outcomes" that produced the schism between Dewey's pragmatism and Hutchins's genteel values: whether science or philosophy/religion was the omnipotent method to strengthen democracy. As such, the debate is a remarkable corollary to the analyses of Hutchins's canons and conventions for high culture and low journalism.

In the August 1944 issue of Fortune, the 84-year-old Dewey engaged Hutchins and his "fellow travelers" on two points: their description of scientific method as a means-based approach and their contention that "moral laws" govern humans universally. In Fortune a year before, Hutchins passionately proposed a U.S. plan to initiate moral, duty-based law as a framework for educating all societies into global order after World War II. "Men are political, social, rational and spiritual. . .," Hutchins wrote. "The mores may vary widely from country to country, but the moral law is the same everywhere."[27] Hutchins plan included no specific use of social sciences.

Dewey's response acknowledged the failures of American education, then dissected the argument that Athenian first principles applied equally to all people over all time. He reminded Hutchins that birth, sex and economic conditions determined which few Athenian "freemen" would be "liberally" educated and which would get vocational training:

> The class that enjoyed the privileges of freedom and a liberal education was based upon precisely those considerations that modern liberation has steadily striven to get rid of.[28]

Medieval society, then, appropriated Greek liberal education, applying it to its own servile society, which differed primarily in its substitution of the church in the role of the Athenian city-state. "The current reactionary movement is closer to the medieval model than to the Greek," Dewey wrote, noting:

> Aristotle, moreover, taught that even free political life was not completely free from the taint of the practical. The only completely free life was that devoted to pursuit of science and philosophy. And nature, not the supernatural, was at the heart of ancient Greek philosophy.

Dewey accused Hutchins of "historical illiteracy" for urging "return to the ideas of the Greek-medieval period as if the ideas of the two ages were the same" simply because philosophers in one used the same "verbal formulas" as their predecessors. Dewey said Greek philosophers recognized the value of first-hand observation, but they, too, experienced the reactionary forces who "fear change as the source of instability and disorder." Science was not subordinate, Dewey wrote, citing Aristotle's assignment of astronomy and biology a "higher position in respect to complete constancy . . . . For he observed the undoubted fact that moral practices and aims change from place to place and time to time." Dewey further charged Hutchins with perpetuating the split:

> What perhaps is not equally obvious is that the marvelous advance in natural science has come about because of the breaking down of the wall existing in ancient and medieval institutions between "higher" things of a purely

> intellectual and "spiritual" nature and "lower" things of a "practical" and "material" nature. . . . Substitution of easy communication in place of the isolation of peoples, groups, and classes has been an agency in bringing the democratic movement into existence.

Dewey, of course, made his stand on science's capacity to act as an end as much as a mean. He urged convergence, assigning a new role to philosophy:

> The solution of the issue will not, of course, take place in philosophy. But the opportunity of philosophy is to help get rid of intellectual habits that now stand in the way of a solution.

To Hutchins, of course, these were fighting words and he responded three months later in a manner illustrative of the rhetorical flaw in his Victorian upbringing: He lost his composure. The emotional response in The Christian Century charged that Dewey's solution was to accelerate the problem:

> A truck driver cannot learn to drive a truck by studying physics, chemistry and mathematics. Nor can he learn how to function as a free citizen of a free community by doing so. . . . The truck driver, both as truck driver and citizen, needs to learn to control himself, to take his place in a democratic political organization, to discover the meaning and aim of his existence and of the society of which he is a part.[29]

Vocational training, he said, was better left to industry, while the educational system prepares "enlightened citizens" with "a sense of purpose which will illuminate not merely the 40 hours he works but the 72 he does not." Further, he said, Dewey could not, through the scientific method, "argue for democracy and humane ends." Hutchins even proposed that the scientific method in the wrong hands could bring back the horrors of enslavement or further empower anti-Semitic regimes:

> Man should have every instrument to achieve his ends; and the greatest of these is science. Man should have clear and humane ends; and to clarify his ends and make them

appropriate to humanity he needs philosophy and religion.[30]

The split follows Hutchins's "first maxim of learning," which puts distinctions before unity. He asserted that he merely wanted the *three methods - science, religion, philosophy - to live in separate* laboratories with synthesis in a world view "which shall put everything in its rightful place." Reasoned and succinct in places, Hutchins's essay nonetheless lays bare the rhetoric that earned him the labels of "absolutist" and "arrogant":

> Men can hardly be blamed if they prefer the faith of their fathers to the monstrous faith of John Dewey. . . . The faith of our fathers makes a place for philosophy and science. The faith of John Dewey leaves no place for philosophy or religion. . . . We do not say you must give up science if you believe in God. Mr. Dewey . . . requires us not merely to have faith in science, but to have faith in nothing else.

Low Journalism and Social Responsibility, 1944-1947

Just a year before his public discourse with Dewey, Hutchins accepted an invitation from Luce to explore mounting problems of the press. Both men feared low journalism was inching toward government intervention and erosion of First Amendment freedoms.[31]

For 175 years, the philosophy of low journalism was known formally as libertarianism, positing that man is rational and that the individual's happiness is the preferred position.[32] Grounded in the writings of Milton, Mill, Locke and Jefferson, libertarianism advocated a marketplace of ideas. Decidedly Aristotelian in emphasizing rationality, trust in individuals and the development of moral character, it stood in stark contrast to its adversary, authoritarianism, which embraced the ideals of state and rule by elitists who felt natural superiority.

Given most in history to Plato, authoritarianism urged a sense of order and servitude, what media philosopher and libertarian John Merrill calls "statist utilitarianism."[33] In journalism practice, the two strands of authoritarianism and libertarianism have been represented in evolving operational forms, from strictly statist tools to more or less free and private enterprise.

Hutchins's panel met periodically over three years and, in 1947, issued a report titled, A Free and Responsible Press. Its deliberations were conducted among 13 white men and its findings were admittedly patriarchal, placing the onus of distributive justice and social responsibility on the shoulders of press barons, reporters and editors. Briefly, it said the press should:

> . . . (provide) a truthful, comprehensive account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning . . . (serve as a) forum for the exchange of comment and criticism . . . (offer a) representative picture of the constituent groups of society . . . (present and clarify the) goals and values of society . . . (provide) full access to the day's intelligence.[34]

When the Hutchins Commission findings finally percolated through the porous stone of reigning libertarianism, debates raged over the Aristotelian and Platonic strands. The furor has receded but heavy imprints of the Hutchins conventions can be found in newspaper master plans, mid-career programs, textbooks and ethics manuals, leaving little doubt that the commission's proclivities and theory are shared widely by low journalism's editorial and educational functions.[35]

Nonetheless, Hutchins's methodology reflected in two ways the same Victorian attitude and principles that stoked the debate over ideas and facts. First, Hutchins chose philosophy over social science, rejecting the pragmatic approach that would have required formulating research questions and testing them empirically. Second, he filled the commission with educators and like-minded philosophers, many of whom served on Hutchins's other study groups. Citing the commission's focus on policy and not practice, Hutchins excluded sex, race and journalism experience as criteria for admission.[36]

While the public discourse over the Hutchins report is voluminous, this study is limited to the discussion of the actual text, rewritten by Hutchins before publication, and Merrill's Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy, a strong defense of libertarianism and harsh critique of the social responsibility theory spawned by the commission.

Hutchins opened his report with a statement of the problem, which he viewed as an increasing importance of the press with a corresponding decrease in public responsiveness; an inadequate level of service to the public; and a system of practice that often brought public condemnation. He said those conditions, predicated by increasing concentration of economic and political power in a media elite, threatened to bring intervention:

> If modern society requires great agencies of mass communication, if these concentrations become so powerful that they are a threat to democracy, if democracy cannot solve the problem simply by breaking them up - then those agencies must control themselves or be controlled by government. If they are controlled by government, we lose our chief safeguard against totalitarianism - and at the same time take a long step toward it.[37]

Much of Hutchins's concern was centered on his belief that the press was unwilling to accommodate all voices and he echoed his educational philosophy that society's "fathers" again were to be heeded:

> Our ancestors were justified in thinking that if they could prevent the government from interfering with the freedom of the press, that freedom would be effectively exercised. In their day, anybody with anything to say had comparatively little difficulty in getting it published. The only serious obstacle to free expression was government censorship.[38]

Hutchins said freedom of the press implied freedom "from" what he called "external compulsions" and not the "pressures" necessary for robust public discourse. But, he said, it also meant freedom "for making its contribution to the maintenance and development of a free society." He concluded his statement of principles with words consistent with his convictions:

> Freedom of the press for the coming period can only continue as an accountable freedom. Its moral right will be conditioned on its acceptance of this accountability. Its legal right will stand unaltered as its moral duty is performed.[39]

The almost immediate rejection of the Hutchins findings in low journalism circles did not prevent them from becoming inculcated as the precepts for the new conventions of social responsibility. In 1974, Merrill responded to the rolling industry applause with a stinging critique of social responsibility theory and a fresh endorsement of media allegiance to editorial self-determination, rationality and the individual's responsibility to do the right thing. Establishing a conditional right such as that assumed in social responsibility only invited the very authoritarian control that Hutchins purportedly feared.[40] Merrill's criticism was couched in his satirical surprise that the press had not been responsible:

> Actually, it had generally been felt that the multiplicity of interpretations was what actually constituted not only a free press, but also a responsible press. At least it was felt generally in the Western world that a "free press" in a democratic sense was responsible *per se* to its social system.

Much like Dewey and others before him, Merrill was appalled by the tone, attitude and failure of the report to make its points in unambiguous, fair and persuasive phrasing:

> . . . there was the basic arrogance of this self-appointed "commission" which set up its own standards for press

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> responsibility and then found the American press unable to meet them.

At the heart of Merrill's position was the assertion that a social responsibility theory could find strength and significance only in a "government power elite" defining and enforcing its conventions. He contended that the socio-political system in a country determines press responsibility and that any press operating successfully within those precepts is being socially responsible.

Merrill hypothesizes that the level of social responsibility in a press system can only correlate to the level of "control" from outside forces, "but only in the sense of considering 'responsibility' as a kind of commonly-accepted or 'socially-imposed' monolithic concept." Merrill cites social responsibility theorists as agreeing with Hutchins in his contention that the government should intervene when and if the "need is great and the stakes are high." Challenging Hutchins's "duty" concept, Merrill wonders who specifically should establish the level of need or height of the stakes in low journalism's necessary and perpetual animation:

> It would seem . . . one editor would feel he had one duty to *do* something that another editor in good conscience would feel he should *not* do. . . . I am prone to say that neither was *irresponsible* - that, in fact, in a free and autonomous press system they were both *responsible*, regardless of which action I might personally approve.

While admitting the press perpetrates "gaps" in the kinds and amounts of information available, Merrill contends that turning such oversights into enforceable constructs with external editorial decision-makers subsequently worsens the problem, creating "chasms" to replace the gaps. But the strength of libertarian media, he said, rests on pluralism and diversity, which makes them responsible, and sometimes irresponsible, under the rubric of autonomy:

> All press systems can claim to be responsible to their societies, but the idea of autonomous media injecting a variety of opinions and ideas into the social fabric is one which only the libertarian system can reasonably claim. . . . When the term and concept of "irresponsible journalism" disappears from the United States . . . then will be the time when journalistic freedom and autonomy are dead.

Sacred Texts and Great Books in the Living Room, 1944-1952

No doubt relishing in his discourse with Dewey and his new-found project to critique low journalism, Hutchins inaugurated his plan to "democratize" education with a Great Books plan that would package his cherished first principles of letters and philosophy for mass consumption. This study addresses two of the three parts of the Great Books plan, purposely skirting the campuswide curriculum changes in favor of the genuinely middle brow efforts to bring great reading and great ideas to the public. The public portion of the plan consisted of the Great Books of the Western World package, marketed through Encyclopaedia Britannica, which by then had become a unit of the university under the control of Yale classmate Benton; and the creation of a Great Books Foundation to market low-cost paperback classics to reading groups organized in cities nationwide. The groups, then, were led in discussion by fellow members who, in theory, practiced the Socratic method of the campus Great Books courses.

Those two public campaigns are useful in this study because they correspond chronologically and philosophically to Hutchins's goal of extending his metaphysical methods into adult education, which he considered a key to fulfilling the democracy assumption. Hutchins's interest in Great Books came from his close association with Mortimer Adler, who became hooked on the concept as a student of John Erskine at Columbia University. In Erskine's course, Adler was required to read a classic a week for 60 weeks with a two-hour seminar on each book. Shortly thereafter, Adler taught the Columbia course, then joined Scott Buchanan at the People's Institute in offering it to 15 adult discussion groups in the five boroughs of New York.[41] In 1930, Hutchins brought Adler to Chicago to launch their own Great Books curriculum.[42]

The salient discourse over the approach came from Dwight Macdonald, fellow "Great Bookie" Clifton Fadiman, author Ben Ray Redman and a businessman, Raymond H. Wittcoff, who became deeply involved in the book study group concept in his home city of St. Louis. In August 1949, the second year of the foundation's home study program, Fadiman bemoaned the decline of the average American's attention span, attributing it most to the influence of low journalism and advertising, the latter of which was responsible for bringing short, punchy writing to America. His tone was decidedly Huthinesque, high brow on the one hand and defensive on the other: ". . . the faculty of attention in general is undergoing a wholesale displacement away from ideas and abstractions toward things and techniques."[43]

Fadiman credited his discovery to the "horrors" revealed in the private confessions of William James and the Utopian novels of Erewhon, Brave New World and 1984, all conceptions of "literary men, that is, by men belonging to the class most gravely menaced" by the "paralysis and displacement of attention." Then, his assessment of blame:

> But there is a larger class - technicians, (managers) . . . certain kinds of journalists, certain kinds of government and labor bureaucrats - which has much to gain from the same phenomenon; and there is a very large class indeed which simply feels more comfortable in a society that does not demand from it any considerable systematic effort of the mind.

While such an indictment hardly could be argued in a public becoming exponentially consumptive, Fadiman felt obliged to offer a defense of Great Books efforts, remind readers of his friend Hutchins's place in the intellectual gentry and, perhaps unwittingly, expose the middle brow character of the movement. Fadiman said Hutchins, Schweitzer, Einstein, Freud and Livingstone were this century's versions of Moses, Socrates, Aquinas and Voltaire. The difference, he noted, was that the predecessors were in the "vanguard," virtually without critics, while the modern group was under constant scrutiny:

> Today the "highbrow" . . . is instinctively regarded, even when accorded a certain mechanical respect, as contrary to the trend of the times. He is attacked regularly, not by obscurantists, which is to be expected, but in the columns of the most thoughtful and responsible newspapers and periodicals. He fights a rear-guard action.

The from-the-rear handicap, so evident in the paltry but loyal numbers of highbrow publications and readers, required offensive measures such as the marketing involved in the Great Books programs, Fadiman wrote. Even so, most discussion during the period revolved around means rather than ends; that is, all agreed with Fadiman's attention span theory, but there was no consensus on what approaches were most effective.

During the third year of the Great Books reading program, The Saturday Review published a debate on the Hutchins-Alder approach, a kind of Socratic living-room technique designed to bring deep reading and discussion to middle-American citizens gathered around the coffee table. For $9.50 per year, each participant got a supply of softcover classics, *sans* explanation or tutorial, to read before group meetings every two weeks. The program promised that readers would spend four hours reading and two hours discussing with group leaders equipped with prepackaged synopses and questions. It was hoped that over time, with its potential for popularity, the program would become self-sustaining and the adults would become better readers.[44]

The point-counterpoint dialogue in The Saturday Review was further evidence of the horrific melding so despised by Macdonald: On one side (Redman), the program had its doubtful, yet optimistic critic and on the other (Wittcoff), a disciple whose defensive approach to Redman made little sense in the overall applause emanating from a magazine so devoted to the same mission. Redman, citing Adler's admission that it was years before he felt comfortable leading a Great Books class, legitimately questioned whether bankers or bureaucrats or plumbers could perform effectively before their neighbors; whether people of average intelligence could understand the books; whether any Great Book is understandable without prefatory explication or analysis; and whether the requirements for group leadership were as rigorous as Adler and Hutchins claimed. Redman praised the goals, but described them as "largely unrealizable":

> It is the value of the program to the average group that I so strongly question. It is the wholesale character of the Foundation's enterprise - addressed to "all adults" - that makes me shake my head in disagreement. But what a beautiful idea it is!

Wittcoff, working from Redman's text, opened with a defensive inquiry: "Would Mr. Redman like some evidence?" From there, Wittcoff shows the influence of Hutchins and Adler:

> Its aim is to make us better men and better citizens. It is the process through which we cultivate our specifically human powers and civilize ourselves.[45]

Tracing the philosophy of education from Aristotle's elitist definition (It's not for everybody.) to Thomas Jefferson's declaration of universal education as "a necessary corollary of political democracy," Wittcoff scolds Redman with the rhetoric of Arnold Toynbee on the "stumbling blocks" that prevent fulfillment of educational goals:

> . . . education has been divorced from its traditional cultural background; it has been dominated by a utilitarian spirit which has made it an instrument of worldly ambition and frivolous amusement; and, finally, . . . it has produced semi-educated minds which can be easily enslaved by ingenious propagandists.

Wittcoff relies on Toynbee's assertion that the incumbent cultural backsliding associated with universal education brought about the popularity of the yellow press and that, therefore, mass education was necessary to immunize civilization from the guttural influences of mass culture. Wittcoff systematically rejects Redman's concerns about the intellectual capacities of group members or leaders:

> Some of the participants in the our St. Louis groups have had very little formal education; others hold higher degrees. Neither extreme has seemed seriously handicapped in this effort at self-education. Special knowledge about the subject is not required to read the great books; they represent original contributions to knowledge.

Redman's qualified criticism and Wittcoff's gushing defense were the grist for Macdonald's November 1952 New Yorker critique of the final phase of the Great Books adult education program. The noted culture critic seemed to be honing his blade for the two-part assault on Hutchins and his "midcult" cohorts eight years later in Partisan Review, his own highbrow "little book" creation recognized by Fadiman and others as one of the most significant voices for the preservation of avant garde culture. In effect, Macdonald wrote, Adler and Hutchins had assembled 443 works by 76 authors using a criteria that neither they nor their board members knew anything about:

> This doctrinaire smugness blinds them to the real problems of their enterprise by giving them mechanical, ready-made solutions that often don't fill the bill. . . . But most of

> the eccentricities are systematic rather than accidental, springing from dogma rather than oversight.[46]

Macdonald agrees with Redman that the stated objective of stripping the classics of expository material and historical background renders many of the volumes "useless"; that the emphasis on minor works by major writers makes it unrepresentative; that many of the translations were of inadequate quality for the average reader; that the $249.50 price was inflated when one considers that 75 percent of the volumes were available more cheaply in bookstores:

> Those who are truly interested in books probably already have most of these, while those who don't may be presumed not to be ardent readers, and not in the mood to spend $250. Even when need and desire coincide, as in the case of young bookworms, it is more fun - and cheaper - to buy the books separately.

Macdonald upbraided the Hutchins-Adler enterprise called the Syntopicon, the apparatus that the Great Books editors hoped would make a more useful substitution for interpretative material before each volume. The million-dollar project, seven years in the making, indexed 102 of civilization's Great Ideas, providing a roadmap from which the various strands of great thinking could be traced within the volumes. Adler likened the work to an encyclopedia or dictionary, while Macdonald described it as a latterday WPA project for scores of graduate students who spent more than 400,000 man hours assembling the lists and cross references:

> There is a strong family resemblance between the dictionaries of Dr. Johnson, Mr. Webster, and Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls, but every man makes his own Syntopicon, God forbid, and this one is Dr. Adler's, not mine or yours. To him, of course, ideas seem to be as objective and distinct as marbles, which can be arranged in definite, logical patterns.

What upset Macdonald most was his suspicion that Adler was using the Syntopicon as the preliminary work in a project that he, Adler, had initiated as head of the newly formed Institute of Philosophical Research, a think tank funded by the Ford Foundation, where Hutchins had set up shop as director. There, Macdonald said, Adler was producing "a dialectical summation of Western thought, a synthesis for the 20th century." The model, Macdonald further asserted, was Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, the work most instrumental in Adler's personal philosophy:

> Aquinas had certain advantages over his disciple; the culture he summarized was homogenous, systematically articulated, and clearly outlined, because of the universal acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith as expressed in the Bible and by the Church Fathers.

"Thus," he continues, "the true reason for his set of Great Books becomes apparent":

> Its aim is hieratic rather than practical - not to make the books accessible to the public (which they mostly already were) but to fix the canon of the Sacred Texts by printing them in a special edition.

A list, Macdonald asserted, would have been adequate for the stated purpose, but such a document is subject to easy change. Besides, he said, "it lacks the dramatic, totemistic force of a five-foot, hundred-pound array of books." He concluded:

> The problem is not placing these already available books in people's hands (at $5 a volume) but getting people to read them, and the hundred pounds of densely printed, poorly edited reading matter assembled by Drs. Adler and Hutchins is scarcely likely to do that.

The High and Low Relevance of Middle Brow

In *The Making of Middle Brow Culture*, Joan Shelley Rubin posits that Victorian values, "in chastened and redirected form," survived almost to mid-century and certainly through Robert Maynard Hutchins's attempts to draw high and low into the middle ground of cultural bliss. Like so often the case with plotting a cultural time line, middle brow culture has escaped a precise pronouncement of death, lingering perhaps because its purveyors refuse to see it as a ghost. Rubin notes with exasperation, for instance, that the 1990 version of the Great Books "excludes people of color and women deliberately, rather than unthinkingly (emphasis added by author)." She eulogizes the middle brow efforts and yearns for a return to "the moral and aesthetic commitments which the makers of middle brow culture at their best tried to diffuse."[47] There is little doubt, however, that the middle brow's attempts to "democratize" America was a relatively short-lived experiment in social and cultural engineering. Success would have been demonstrated by consumptive behavior leading to a fully informed electorate capable and desirous of proscribed "great books" and "great ideas" that would help them make rational decisions in their exercise of civic duties and responsibilities. By 1960, a nation on the brink of becoming fully enveloped in mass consumption was becoming addicted to television and other emerging cultural forms which demanded more of the senses than the mind.

It is easy to note, then, that Hutchins's attempts to build an American middle brow tumbled in the consumptive rampage that today offers 500 channels and interactive video. He, like Adler, Fadiman and others, were middle brow icons who fell with a movement, albeit misdirected or misguided at times, that sought to strengthen democracy by simply providing a regular diet of first principles. What separated Hutchins from the rest, however, was his concurrent attempt to bring low journalism into the cultural middle brow, to establish journalistic conventions that, too, would promote an informed electorate in the so-called democratic assumption, which equates good, reliable information with good, rational decision-making. Unlike his "fellow travelers," Hutchins's aspirations of a middle brow linked both ends of the spectrum, a world view of mass democracy with which one can only reluctantly find fault.

Hutchins's middle brow model was inspired by classical components of his Victorian upbringing in the intellectual gentry of the early century. On its face, this vision is the rhetoric of reason, distributive justice, virtue and moral duty. That Hutchins, even by his own admission, did not possess superior rhetorical skills or the desire to compromise or concede were debilitating flaws, uncharacteristic of his lineage in moderating Calvinist theology. But they did not strike the fatal blows to middle brow or his own personal mission.

On the two primary points of this study, Hutchins's influence was indisputable, if not wholly successful. While the Great Books campaign, which had all but collapsed by 1970, may have enriched the household bookshelves of America, the evidence of intellectual enlightenment is far from convincing. Jurgen Habermas, writing at the time of Macdonald's definitive work on "midcult," posited that "more than a third of all potential readers read no books at all and more than two-fifths buy no books." Habermas, describing the collapse of a literary public sphere, credits the book clubs with restricting choice through a direct and explicit publisher-reader agreement that constructed a type of contractual canon for the audience. More important, though, he asserts that such arrangements tended to lower the "entrance requirements" for great literature and constrict the avenues for public criticism of what is written.[48] On the low end, Hutchins's Commission on Freedom of the Press has left more of a legacy with its contentious findings becoming instrumental in formulating a new press theory while codifying existing conventions and establishing still others.

Acknowledging Habermas' view to a contrary end, it must be assumed that Hutchins sincerely believed in democratic values as they applied to high culture and its literature. He wanted all to read the "best" the world had produced and he wanted every segment of society, even truck drivers, to be able to participate intelligently and robustly in his interpretation of participatory democracy. Likewise, he felt every media consumer was entitled to a voice in low journalism, that a publisher's obligation was to avoid the arrogance so often associated, then as now, with the position that freedom of the press is the province of only those who own one. His was a top-down/bottom-up approach, a philosophy of "intercourse" between high and low cultures.

Even so, as cultural historians have noted frequently, the good intentions were lost in methods, attitudes and, yes, philosophy. We accept, for example, that a small and homogenous group of men can determine our collective taste for literature or that a remarkably similar group, without direct knowledge of a subject and with limited methodologies, can draw the boundaries for a new theory that, wittingly or not, helps guide the most powerful low journalism system in the world.

In the last decade of the century, it is simple to dismiss the first as a foolishly contrived phenomenon of cultural and social control. Rebel journalist I.F. Stone once said the United States could not win the war in Vietnam because it was fighting a peasant war on the side of the landlord.[49] Similarly, the Hutchins's battle to bring high culture to the middle succumbed to the exponential burgeoning of tenants occupying what avant garde scholars consider America's cultural slums.

It is not so easy to dismiss Hutchins's celebrated treatise on the press, which picks up more and more credence as its proponents move toward the commemoration of its 50th anniversary, which, like the findings in 1947, will be discussed largely within the privacy of media organizations and their literature. In 1947, the American press did all it could to keep the report a secret from the very masses for which it purportedly was written, then spent the next four decades making it a cornerstone of the ethics and practices of everyday low journalism.

For debate on the Great Books controversy, the author made selections from the more than 75 articles written by or in response to Hutchins's philosophies and approaches in a variety of publications, most of them catering to those solidly in the middle brow. While it hardly dominated the public's attention, the debate ran for years in its various phases of development. The discourse on social responsibility of the press was conducted in the closed framework of professional and academic journals, confirming much of the media pomposity that Hutchins deplored in his equally arrogant report. At the risk of advancing such a value-laden observation, it is not unreasonable to assert that discourse among low journalism's thinkers and rhetoricians should be considered just as important to the reading public as is the discussion of literature and its canons.

That digression, of course, may provide a means for improving press performance, but the issue at hand demands an explanation of how the promising rise of Hutchins's cleverly constructed middle brow came to such a quick fall. Quite simply, Hutchins's proclivities, inculcated in and inspired by the intellectual gentry, failed to provide clear and relevant canons and conventions for a reading "public" that, even if it existed in 1947 or 1952, was neither as identifiable nor as servile as it was in Athens, Rome or the Midwestern Victorian enclave of Oberlin. Within a decade of both ventures, America was beginning its long embrace of equal opportunity; metaphysics had collided with the pragmatism of votech. Three decades later, the rubric of equal opportunity had created insurmountable multicultural pressures on a society so split by its emphasis on racial and ethnic distinctions that Hutchins's conventions and canons, like the traces of genteel culture, seem quaint but largely irrelevant. The concept of democratic "self-control," whether applied to a truck driver trying to vote intelligently or a publisher (book or newspaper) weighing what the public needs against what it wants, means nothing in a culture with today's options of high, low, middle and all shades between.

Habermas has noted that the artifacts of mass culture follow a logical and predictable pattern, being drawn first into the middle classes, then floating into the upper classes before then filtering to the bottom. This flow created the pressures that split the intellectual gentry into a separate group, the avant garde, whose purpose became the quiet preservation of whatever cultural standards remained.[50] That schematic, drawn on the emerging technology of television more than 30 years ago, explains the blurring of boundaries in a nation whose culture has become largely disposable.

It is obvious now that the principles-first methods of Hutchins's intellectual gentry, so enamored by the patrician up-from-the bootstraps, drew high culture and low journalism into the cultural mean, while rapidly multiplying publics went their own ways. Too many variables clouded the Hutchins equation, whose value as a mean was reduced by his insistence on making it an end.

In his own, rather mean-spirited way, Macdonald warned us about strange bedfellows and what can happen from unprotected cultural intercourse. Despite his elitist and arrogant scoldings of anything at the center or low end of the culture spectrum, Macdonald's 1960 analysis of "midcult" contained an optimistic compromise which, in retrospect, was more enduring than all of the philosophies and theories put forth in this discourse. He proposed using the cultural diversity inherent in fragmented society to the benefit of all classes of cultural consumers. With remarkable foresight, he posited that pay television, nothing more than a linear extension of cable as a mere figment of entrepreneurial imagination, could be an answer for those who "would rather pay for bread than get stones for nothing."[51] In the end, Macdonald wrote, the fight is a foolish one:

> Which came first, the chicken or the egg, the mass demand or its satisfaction (and further stimulation), is a question as academic as it is unanswerable. The engine is reciprocating and shows no signs of running down.[52]

Rubin asserts that the engine, in fact, may be the powerplant driving "what H.G. Wells called the 'race between education and catastrophe'" and that the dissipation of the middle brow leaves American culture naked to further corruption:

> Given the widespread disregard for the possession of liberal learning, the popularizers . . . . appear themselves apostles of a shattered faith. More broadly, while the market remains capable of disseminating the importance of reading - not long ago a cereal box urged breakfast eaters to discover the world of books and libraries - its capacity to subvert genuine understanding and autonomy survives and flourishes as well.[53]

If there was an enduring lesson in the rise and fall of Robert

Hutchins's middle brow, it may be in Dewey's assertion that first principles are specific to time, place and, most important, circumstances. In the 1940s, when the Hutchins Commission was conducting its deliberations, the remnants of Victorian ideals of democratization were being subsumed by consumerization. By 1960, when Habermas and Macdonald were writing about television, social responsibility had become an artifact in cultural history.

Robert Hutchins was a Victorian in the terminal generation and his discourse reflects a struggle to adapt to consumer society, sometimes in ways that made him appear to be an early purveyor of commercialization. While that may have been the case with some who surrounded him, Hutchins's part in the discourse indicates that he was attempting in good faith to inculcate strict first principles of genteel culture using 20th century methods.

A goal of hybrid culture would bring the best of two or more existing cultures into a workable equation, one that focuses primary attention on compatible means and ends. Despite Rubin's hopes for a return of genteel values to bring sense to the cultural morass, Victorian ideals and principles give no quarter to the calculus of compromise.

NOTES

1. T.J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880-1930" in The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980, Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears, eds. (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 1-38.

2. Robert M. Hutchins, "Should Institutions of Higher Learning Be Abolished?" as quoted in Harry S. Ashmore, Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989), 36-37. Hutchins gave this address as the orator of his graduating class at Yale in 1921.

3. Milton S. Mayer, "Hutchins of Chicago: Part II - The Flying Trapeze," Harper's Magazine, April 1939, 542-52.

4. Mortimer J. Adler, "The Chicago School," Harper's Magazine, September 1941, 377-388.

5. The Hutchins Plan was widely publicized in Harper's Magazine, School & Society, Fortune, Time and other magazines. It was the young president's favorite lightening rod, creating nationwide debate for decades. On many campuses, it was ridiculed because of a cognitive emphasis on dead Greeks and a relatively loose structure that allowed students to work at their own pace and skip classes. Critics at the University of Wisconsin, for instance, called the Chicago bachelor's degree the "bastard of arts." For a more detailed description of the program, see Milton Mayer, Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir, John H. Hicks, ed. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 94-105.

6. Dwight Macdonald, "Masscult and Midcult^1," Partisan Review, Spring 1960, 203-33.

7. Joan Shelley Rubin, The Making of Middle Brow Culture (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 193-94.

8. For a description of how the panel's findings became inculcated as a theory, see Theodore Peterson, "The Social Responsibility Theory of the Press" in Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956). Some histories are useful in describing the less-than-warm reception the Hutchins report received from publishers, notably Herbert Altschull, Agents of Power (New York: Longman, 1984) and From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism. The most thorough critique of social responsibility theory remains John Calhoun Merrill's The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy (New York: Hastings House, 1974).

9. Ibid.

10. Dwight Macdonald, "Masscult and Midcult^2," Partisan Review, Fall 1960, 589-631.

11. Ibid. In a footnote, Macdonald names some of the guilty parties: The Saturday Review, Harper's, The Atlantic, all magazines in which Hutchins traded in discourse.

12. Rubin, xvi-xvii.

13. The framework for Victorianism is contained in Daniel Walker Howe, "American Victorianism as a Culture," American Quarterly 27 (December 1975): 507-532. Discourse is outlined in David A. Hollinger, "Historians and the Discourse of Intellectuals" in New Directions in American Intellectual History, John Higham and Paul Conkin, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1979), 42-63.

14. Mayer, A Memoir, 11-15.

15. Ibid.

16. Howe.

17. Ashmore, 6-7.

18. Howe notes that the various religious groups were affiliated with established eastern schools whose influence branched into regional zones, helping to establish schools and spread doctrine in the countryside. He defines other groups as Old School Calvinists, based at Princeton; Unitarians, working from Cambridge; Methodists, whose intellectual class had no definitive anchor; and Baptists, who (not surprisingly) were bitterly divided.

19. Ibid.

20. William James, as quoted by Adler in "The Chicago School."

21. Ashmore, 7-35.

22. William J. Hutchins, The President's Ideals and Inspirations (New York: Revell, 1917), 138.

23. Ashmore, 36-44, and Mayer, A Memoir, 35-48.

24. Ashmore, 45-56.

25. Mayer, "Hutchins of Chicago: Part II."

26. Dennis Smith, The Chicago School: A Liberal Critique of Capitalism (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 59.

27. Robert M. Hutchins, "Toward a Durable Society," Fortune, June 1943, 158-60.

28. John Dewey, "Challenge to Liberal Thought," Fortune, August, 1944, 155-57.

29. Robert M. Hutchins, "Education for Freedom," The Christian Century, 15 November 1944, 1314-16.

30. In fact, there was a robust scientific community at Chicago, but Hutchins' argument here seems to support his secret knowledge of the bomb project being conducted in Chicago's Stagg Field stadium. There, in a monument vacated due to Hutchins' distaste for and elimination of intercollegiate football, Enrico Fermi and others developed the atomic reaction necessary to bring about the nuclear devastation of Japan and the end of World War II.

31. Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press: A General Report on Mass Communications - Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947).

32. Fred S. Siebert, "The Libertarian Theory of the Press," in *Four Theories of the Press* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 39-71.

33. John C. Merrill, *The Dialectic in Journalism: Toward a Responsible Use of Press Freedom* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 163. Merrill's paths of ethical thinking differ little from others in the field. He is used here for the clarity of his two-strand explanation of press theories.

34. Edmund B. Lambeth, *Committed Journalism: An Ethic for the Profession* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 6. Lambeth correctly notes that the commission's findings were codified later into a social responsibility theory of the press. For a detailed examination of authoritarian, communist, libertarian and social responsibility theories, see Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press*, cited previously.

35. In October, the Poynter Institute sponsored what it shamelessly called a "pep rally" in celebration of the coming 50th anniversary of the commission. The commission's recommendations are seen in the new Associated Press Managing Editors' ethics guidelines, the Society of Professional Journalists' new ethics manual and has found its way into nearly every so-called visionary plan of newspaper chains, especially Gannett's News 2000.

36. Ashmore, 294-5.

37. Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1-5.

38. Ibid, 14.

39. Ibid, 18-19.

40. Merrill, 85-98.

41. Ashmore, 98.

42. Ibid, 86-87. The program was momentarily delayed after Hutchins worked himself into an administrative nightmare that saw his hiring of Adler at an inflated salary prompt the resignation of philosophy chair J.H. Tufts and the eventual loss of Mead and two other members of the esteemed Chicago School. Such losses, however, did not deter Hutchins, who, as has been noted, was no proponent of pragmatism or the scientific method.

43. Clifton Fadiman, "The Decline of Attention," *The Saturday Review*, 6 August 1949, 20-4.

44. Ben Ray Redman, "Not Without Socrates," *The Saturday Review*, 9 December 1950, 6-7.

45. Raymond H. Wittcoff, "Yes: Bootstraps of Free Men," *The Saturday Review*, 9 December 1950, 7-8.

46. Dwight Macdonald, "The Book-of-the-Millennium Club," *New Yorker*, 19 November 1952, 171-88.

47. Rubin, 328-9.

48. Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence, trans. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), 166-168. It should be noted that Habermas was addressing the genre of great books programs; his specific references were to book-of-the-month clubs, which differ little from great books in their influences on purchasing or reading.

49. I.F. Stone, paraphrased from Tom Wicker's delightful 1973 film documentary, *I.F. Stone's Weekly*.

50. Habermas, 171-4.

51. Macdonald, *Masscult, Part II*.

52. Ibid.

53. Rubin, 329.

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NETWORK PRIME TIME PROGRAMMING STRATEGIES IN THE 1980S

By
Carolyn A. Lin
Department of Communication
Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio 44115
(216) 687-4641
Bitnet: R1201 @ CSUOHIO
Internet: R1201 @ VMCMS.CSUOHIO.EDU

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150 WORD ABSTRACT

NETWORK PRIME TIME PROGRAMMING STRATEGIES IN THE 1980S

This study examines trends in prime-time network programming strategies, factoring in viewing share trends, competition from new video media and the assumptions of inter-network rivalry. Given the increase in exogenous competition during the 1980s, it's likely that the networks will increasingly favor those high risk but high yield strategies. Based on that assumption, it is predicted that the adoption of countering a blunt and pure blunting will rise, while blunting a counter and pure countering will see declining use during the 1980s.

Qualified support was found for the proposition that exogenous competition is prompting the networks to adopt high risk but high yield programming strategies. Specifically, network conduct in the programming area did demonstrate a small degree of deviation from its historical risk-avoidance norm. Yet, even in the competitive video marketplace of the 1980s, shifts in the use of programming strategies were rather limited.

NETWORK PRIME TIME PROGRAMMING STRATEGIES IN THE 1980S

The traditional network dominance over prime-time viewing was shattered during the 1980s, exemplifying Shumpeter's (1971) notion of an exogenous "shock" accompanying technological innovation. Specifically, the noncompetitive "quiet-life" of network oligopoly was shaken by audience erosion attributable to cable TV and VCR penetration. Where ABC, NBC and CBS collectively accounted for over 92% of prime-time viewing in 1977, they now garner only 61% of Nielsen television homes (A.C. Nielsen, 1994).

Although critics have long assailed the network oligopoly for offering less program diversity than is socially optimal (Owen, Beebe, & Manning, 1974), few studies have investigated network programming strategies. The literature also lacks an updated theoretical framework that can inform the study of programming strategies in a rapidly changing video marketplace. This study intends to fill that vacuum by examining trends in prime-time network programming strategies, factoring in viewing share trends, competition from new video media and the assumptions of inter-network rivalry.

VIEWING SHARES AND MARKET COMPETITION

Broadcast economists (Besen, 1973; Litman, 1979) contend that the networks exhibit interdependent actions characteristic of their oligopoly market structure. In particular, they adhere to similar standards in the areas of program input costs, affiliate compensation, ad rates and program distribution costs. When the networks were an unchallenged oligopoly, they were less likely to risk good time slots or scheduling on untested innovative programs, especially when profits were strong (Dominick & Pearce, 1976).

However, prime time viewing share steadily declined in the 1980s, owing largely to rising competition from the cable TV and video industries. Programming costs skyrocketed and inter-network rivalry over viewing shares and advertising revenues intensified (Atkin & Litman, 1986). This emerging role for new media as a "first run" outlet for original series, national sports or feature-length movies (Auletta, 1991) also helped disturb the once-placid video marketplace. As echoed by Davis and Walker's (1990) findings, the adoption of VCRs, cable TV and remote control devices contributed to a decrease in the prime time share maintenance effect during the last decade.

Despite this market turmoil, in order to sustain competition, the number of new network programs for each new season remained stable. Even so, program schedule realignment rates increased (Adams, Eastman, & Lewine, 1992). Meanwhile, although a 20 point rating for a prime time program was regarded as low only a decade ago, it can now place a program among the "Top 10" series (BROADCASTING, 1992). The networks have thus lowered the thresholds for ratings necessary to renew any new or existing program (Atkin & Litman, 1986; Auletta, 1991).

Against this backdrop, the relationship between rating or share patterns and programming strategies becomes an important consideration. Tiedge and Ksobiech (1987) found evidence that supports the relationship between prime time viewing shares and the use of differential programming strategies. By contrast, Adams (1993) contends that network program scheduling strategies had little to do with either the renewal rate for new series or their ratings patterns (from 1972 to 1992). He concludes that program preferences, instead, should hold the key to managing viewing shares.

In point of fact, network programming strategists did become highly sensitive to shifting audience format preferences during the 1980s (Adams, Eastman, & Lewine, 1992). As a result, when a certain format was particularly successful for a network on a given night, the other networks were likely to duplicate that format on the same or a different evening. For instance, half-hour "sitcoms" became the dominant format for the early prime-time period. This strategy of narrowing program choices could perhaps alienate certain audience segments. However, it could also prove economically beneficial, if the desired demographic segments are targeted with strong ratings prospects.

In sum, the literature reveals an extremely competitive video marketplace with soaring program costs, dwindling viewing shares, lower program cancellation thresholds and rising program realignment rates. Faced with intense market competition, the networks undertook changes in their programming conduct, including greater program duplication amongst themselves--a potentially risky strategy--due to its bypass of other alternative program formats.

This "risk-taking" conduct, which may narrow the audience base or program diversity, contradicts the networks' traditional oligopoly conservatism. Yet, questions remain concerning (1) the extent to which this network risk-taking behavior was undertaken, and (2) how this "new" behavioral norm influenced their programming strategies during the past decade.

UNDERSTANDING PROGRAMMING STRATEGIES

Much of the work on network programming has addressed the efficacy of lead-in programs in generating inheritance effects for adjacent programs (Boemer, 1987; Davis & Walker, 1988; Ehrenberg, 1968; Goodhart & Ehrenberg, 1969; Goodhart, Ehrenberg, & Collins, 1975; Headen, Klompmaker, & Rust, 1979; Henricksen, 1985; Webster, 1985). This strategy is based on the duplication of viewing principle, which assumes that people who view one program tend to view another (Tiedge & Ksobiech, 1987).

In contrast to that strategy, networks might engage in counterprogramming, whereby shows appealing to one specific audience are juxtaposed against those appealing to a separate audience (Wakshlag & Greenberg, 1979). While Wakshlag and Greenberg's work indicated that counterprogramming was not an optimal strategy for reaching children, Horen (1980) found it to be a key general audience maximization strategy.

Tiedge and Ksobiech (1987) suggest that counterprogramming involves three key assumptions: (1) a program's success (in attracting audience) is a function of the competition faced from other programs offered at the same time, (2) individual audience members have existing preferences for program content, and (3) individual viewer preferences are widely dispersed. As their (1987, p. 43) summary indicates, blunting also relies on the first and second assumptions; even so, it assumes that audience preferences are not so widely dispersed, which contradicts the third assumption for counterprogramming.

Since Tiedge and Ksobiech offer the first comprehensive analysis of network programming strategies, it is helpful to use their work as a point of departure here. Their model suggests that, in a typical three-way network ratings battle, a single programmer encounters four possible scenarios. In particular, a programmer could engage in (1) PURE COUNTERPROGRAMMING, by offering a program distinctive from their two counterparts; (2) BLUNTING A COUNTER, or counter one of other networks by offering duplicative programming; (3) COUNTERING A BLUNT, by offering a program that differs from that of the other two networks, when they're duplicating each other; or (4) PURE BLUNTING, which involves duplicating a pair of blunted networks.

By comparing the mean shares generated by different program types (e.g., sports, drama, etc.) based on the above strategies, the authors found that the countering a blunt strategy yielded the highest overall share, followed by the pure blunting, pure countering and blunting a counter strategies, respectively. These results generally confirm the assumptions of Klein (1971) and Virts (1984), who suggest that a given time period will be won by the network which is counterprogramming that slot.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Tiedge and Ksobiech (1987) confirmed the exiting assumptions about the relationship between viewing shares and programming strategy. However, the literature has yet to explain why certain strategies--that supposedly can generate better viewing shares--have only been sparingly used (i.e., pure blunting and countering a blunt). By contrast, the strategies that generate lower viewing shares, pure countering and blunting a counter, have historically dominated network schedules.

One explanation for this phenomenon may involve the networks' tolerance for risk factors accompanying each strategy. This logic could be stated thusly: perceived risk levels associated with the use of countering a blunt and pure blunting far supersede those involving the use of blunting a counter and pure countering.

Based on the existing empirical findings and theoretical assumptions of program preference and share maintenance, a conceptual framework can be developed to further explore this risk-taking conduct. The following presents an analysis of the potential risk-levels associated with each programming strategy in achieving viewing share objectives and how such assessments may influence network conduct.

PURE BLUNTING. Two scenarios depict the high degree of risk (in achieving successful viewing shares) associated with the use of this strategy. First, when pure blunting is successful, it is likely that no one single network would perform extremely poorly (Tiedge & Ksobiech, 1987), triggering a virtual "dead heat" outcome. The other scenario might involve two of the three networks faring rather poorly, owing to the lack of alternative choices.

COUNTERING A BLUNT. When this strategy is selected, the countering network could go against either a clearly preferred or a less popular duplicated format on the other two networks. While the former situation could severely curtail the countering network's chances for success, the likelihood to succeed is more promising in the latter situation. Still, since blunted formats are likely to be particularly popular, the odds for failure of countering may outweigh the chances for success. Hence, risk levels associated with the use of this strategy are also high, owing to its unpredictability.

BLUNTING A COUNTER. The likely outcomes from employing this strategy may be relatively predictable for the blunting network. In particular, if the blunting network duplicates the more popular format on the other two networks, the chances for success could be fair. If it blunts the less successful format, the odds for the blunting network could also be even. Hence, in either situation, the risk of failure for the blunting network may well be neutralized.

PURE COUNTERING. It is likely that, when audience preferences are clear or diverse, then this strategy may be the least risky or most predictable option (Tiedge & Ksobiech, 1987). This is because each network has a fair chance to "hold its own". When program preferences are clear but less diverse, then one network could greatly benefit, while the others would be at a disadvantage. But, so long as the other two networks can target untapped audience segments with quality programming, the chances for achieving satisfactory viewing shares remain strong.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Cognizant of the need to stem erosion of viewing shares against increasing exogenous competition during the 1980s, the networks could become more inclined to assume risks in their programming strategies. It's thus likely that the networks will increasingly favor those "high risk" but "high yield" strategies.

With that premise in mind, by applying the "risk-level" concept, it is predicted that the adoption of the countering a blunt and pure blunting strategies will rise, while the blunting a counter and pure countering strategies will see declining use during the 1980s. To encompass trends in network programming strategies in an era of increased competition, certain expectations can be derived. In particular, the use of the "pure counterprogramming" and "blunting a counter" strategy will decline as viewing shares decrease and competition increases from other video media. Contrastingly, the use of the "countering a blunt" and "pure blunting" strategy will decline as viewing shares decrease and competition increases from other video media.

METHODOLOGY

The criterion measure includes all prime-time programs aired by the three major networks (between 8 and 11 p.m.) from the 1980/1981 to the 1989/1990 seasons. In determining study parameters, it was thought that the above time frame would encompass several key competitive factors that influenced programming, including: (1) an increase in VCR penetration from 1.1% to nearly 70% of U.S. homes, (2) an increase in cable penetration from 22.6% to 57.1% and (3) the arrival of a fourth, albeit part-time network: Fox.

Within these parameters, yearly trends were compiled across each of the four strategies examined in Tiedge and Ksobiech's (1987) model: pure countering, blunting a counter, countering a blunt and pure blunting. Each prime-time program was first coded for a particular genre category based on Brooks and Marsh's (1988) data base. Appendix I lists the different genre codes used in this study. Then Tiedge and Ksobiech's (1987) typology was applied to determine the programming strategy for every half-hour period for each evening's schedule. This resulted in the coding of six time periods, each a half-hour in duration, between 8 and 11 p.m. from Monday through Sunday.

NBC was used as the "reference" network against which these strategies could be measured. For instance, if ABC and CBS both aired a similar genre, but NBC aired a different genre during a particular half-hour period, then the programming strategy for this period would be coded as countering a blunt. This designation is purely arbitrary, and does not bias the manner in which NBC strategies are interpreted.(1)

Since the beginning and ending points for each TV season vary, it was decided that all prime-time programs aired between the second week of September (from the previous year) and the second week of May would be coded across all three networks. This method was selected to standardize the entry and ending of any given season and to ensure the inclusion of any late seasonal ending dates. The year, month, starting date and day of the week were also recorded for identification and manipulation purposes. The total number of coded evening schedules yielded 14,424 time slots across a ten year span.

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(1)The Fox network was not included in this study, owing to their lack of a full prime time schedule and inability to pose a meaningful threat to the other three networks in terms of national reach.

After compiling network viewing shares (Webster & Lichty, 1991), new video media penetration rates were tabulated for the decade, including: (1) VCRs, (2) basic cable and (3) premium cable. While penetration rates for new video media rose steadily during the past decade, network viewing share trends exhibited a downward spiral. Therefore, any positive or inverse correlations between these measures and the criterion variables should be interpreted with this caveat in mind.

It should also be noted that, as the data base analyzed was a census of all programs in all time slots, no statistical inferences will be drawn based on significance levels. Instead, descriptive statistical results will be reported to reflect the magnitude of association or difference between the variables examined.

RESULTS

Table 1 reveals the decade trends, mean frequency distributions and the magnitude of standard deviations (in percentage points) across all four programming strategies. The countering a blunt strategy (Mean= 7.9%) has the largest standard deviation (SD = 1.04), followed by pure blunting (Mean = 3.6%; SD = 0.94), blunting a counter (Mean = 22.6%; SD = 0.61) and pure countering (Mean = 65.9%; SD = 0.28). The relative increase in the use of the former two strategies substantiates the first general hypothesis, as these strategies are symptomatic of the networks' new risk-taking behavioral norm during the past decade.

Table 2 further indicates how the allocation of each programming strategy coincides with associated risks and audience size for each time period. It is clear that the use of pure countering varies little from time period to time period (SD =0.1), extending gradually downward over time. Similarly, the frequency spread for using blunting a counter is also small (SD = 0.49); the peak use periods for this strategy are between 9 p.m. and 10 p.m. The scheduling of the countering a blunt strategy (SD = 1.18) demonstrates a greater downward trend as the night wears on, with a much larger frequency distribution than the former two strategies. Finally, the pure blunting strategy displays the most drastic change in frequency across the time periods (SD = 3.42), jumping more than ten times between the 8 - 9 p.m. and 9 - 11 p.m. periods.

Table 3 presents the results from testing the remaining two propositions. It appears that the decline in network viewing share is correlated with the declining use of the pure countering strategy (r=.25). This reduction in pure countering is inversely related to the rising penetration of VCRs (r=-.35), basic cable TV (r=-.19) and premium cable TV (r=-.10). Similarly, decreased use of the blunting a counter strategy is associated with decreased viewing shares (r=.54) and increased new video media penetration (including VCRs, r=-.46; basic cable TV, r= -.62; premium cable TV, r=-.65). These findings provide support for the second hypothesis.

In contrast, findings for the third hypothesis contradict those of the second proposition. That is, the declining viewing shares are correlated with greater use of the countering a blunt strategy (r=-.46). Greater use of this strategy is also correlated with rising penetration rates for VCRs (r=.43), basic cable TV (r=.46) and premium cable TV (r=.45). By the same token, increased use of the pure blunting strategy is linked with declining viewing shares (r=-.81) and mushrooming penetration ratios for VCRs (r=.90), basic cable TV (r=.78) and premium cable TV (r=.67). These results thus confirm the third hypothesis.

DISCUSSION

In essence, all programming decisions are largely determined by financial considerations. Although earlier work found a correlation between increasing profits and duplicative program strategies (Dominick & Pearce, 1976), present results suggest that such practices can obtain during tougher financial times as well. Thus, profitability may not be the major cause for the increased network adventurism in programming strategies; rather, survivability in a deteriorating "neo"-oligopolistic structure may be the primary explanatory factor. This dynamic might help explain why the 3rd-place network -- ABC -- was actually the only one to turn a profit during the late 1989.

Suffice to say, new media competitors haven't yet captured a critical mass of network advertising revenues or profits. Nevertheless, increased program input expenditures and viewing shares helped push cable industry advertising billings above $3.5 billion in 1992, while broadcast network profits stagnated, in relative terms. These economic trends translate into a strong ascendancy for new media, which may well imperil the future of free, off-air TV (Wirth, 1989; Auletta, 1991).

In order to remain economically viable, the networks have been involved in a perpetual dog-fight to maintain their viewing shares. This competitive environment could have facilitated the development of the networks' "new" risk-taking behavioral norm, as far as programming strategies are concerned.

However, due to skyrocketing program input costs, the networks' risk-taking conduct was guided by careful calculations. This may explain the lack of any dramatic shift in network programming strategies during the 1980s. Even so, economics played a determining role in several format shifts during that period. For instance, even highly rated series such as Lou Grant were canceled, largely because its talent was too expensive (Atkin & Litman, 1986). Meanwhile, inexpensive documentary and "reality" programs proliferated (Variety, 1990).

Nevertheless, to the extent that counterprogramming decreased and blunting increased, concurrent format choices were reduced (in relative terms). By implication, program diversity may have also declined. As increased competition in the video media marketplace did strongly correlate with increased program duplication (or blunting) among the networks, present findings are consistent with past work (Adams, Eastman, & Lewine, 1992).

However, this augmented use of blunting did not drastically impact overall network programming strategies. This is perhaps due to the uncertainty of risk associated with blunting. Hence, it is not surprising that, when pure blunting was employed, it appeared primarily after 9 p.m. In so acting, the networks may reduce their risk of incurring greater financial losses, which might otherwise accompany the natural decline of audiences during later time periods. Such findings are consistent with the literature (Tiedge & Ksobiech, 1987), which indicates that pure blunting is a little-used programming strategy.

Although the high degree of uncertainty associated with countering a blunt explains its sparse application, network inertia notwithstanding, there's evidence of a modest increase in its use. Despite that fact, the strategy was more heavily allocated prior to 9 p.m., so that programmers could capitalize on its potential ability to generate the high viewing shares (as found by Tiedge and Ksobiech).

Perhaps due to its high degree of predictability, blunting a counter is employed by the networks nearly 25% of the time (Tiedge & Ksobiech, 1987). Even so, as viewing shares declined and outside competition peaked, the use of this strategy decreased at a moderate rate over the decade, with some slight fluctuation. But owing to its inability to generate higher viewing shares (Tiedge & Ksobiech, 1987), this strategy was more heavily deployed in the post-9 p.m. periods to minimize any potential financial losses.

By contrast, the pure counterprogramming strategy was rather weakly correlated, in the predicted direction, with the share trend and selected competition factors. This suggests a relatively insignificant decrease in the use of this strategy. In fact, aside from a couple of fluctuations, pure countering remained the most stable and dominant strategic choice across the entire decade. Once again, the popularity of this strategy (among networks) likely stems from the relatively low levels of risk associated with its use.

Based on these findings, it appears that the definition of programming success hinges on the probability of achieving an optimal viewing share. Maximal, or first-place program rankings, are not a sole criterion of success for each program decision. A programmer may strive, on occasion, to minimize losses by placing an inexpensive "sacrifice" up against a perennial favorite (e.g., Roseanne).

Present study findings also supports Adams' (1993) contention, that the success of any programming strategy depends primarily upon program preferences. Precise program preference assessments should, in turn, help predict risk levels associated with the application of each programming strategy. These predictions could, then, inform financial considerations accompanying particular program alignments within different time periods.

CONCLUSION

Due to the arrival and growth of alternative video media in the 1980s, the three major TV networks experienced their most significant economic restructuring since their inception. The present study achieved qualified success in linking selected economic, video media competition and viewing share factors with programming strategies. It also uncovered distinctive patterns of network conduct in the programming area.

Specifically, the networks did demonstrate a small degree of deviation from their historical risk-avoidance norm. Yet, shifts in the use of various programming strategies were rather limited, even in the intensely competitive video marketplace of the 1980s. Adjustments in the allocation of these strategies were undertaken to consolidate risk and improve the odds for generating target viewing shares.

It remains to be seen whether this type of risk-taking conduct continues through the 1990s and whether strategies become more liberated, due to an even further fragmented and competitive media marketplace. Future research should further explore this aspect of network TV activity to help facilitate theory building.

Table 1: A Decade Trend of Programming Strategy

	Pure Countering %	Blunting A Counter %	Countering A Blunt %	Pure Blunting %	N
1980	65.6	23.2	8.3	2.9	1260
1981	66.0	29.4	3.7	0.9	1566
1982	64.7	28.4	5.4	1.5	1949
1983	72.0	18.9	7.5	1.6	1516
1984	65.8	20.1	11.2	2.9	1437
1985	65.8	20.6	9.7	3.9	1434
1986	66.3	22.4	7.7	3.6	1464
1987	64.8	22.5	8.8	3.9	1320
1988	60.4	21.1	16.9	7.6	1494
1989	67.6	18.9	6.3	7.2	1428
Mean %	65.9	22.6	7.9	3.6	
S.D.	0.28	0.61	1.04	0.94	

Table 2 A Decade Trend of Programming Strategy by Time Periods

Row/Column	Pure Countering %	Blunting A Counter %	Countering A Blunt %	Pure Blunting %	N
8-8:30	72.5/18.3	15.4/11.4	11.6/24.5	0.5/2.5	2404
8:30-9	71.3/18.0	17.3/12.8	10.8/22.8	0.5/2.5	2404
9-9:30	59.8/15.1	27.9/20.6	7.1/14.9	5.2/24.4	2404
9:30-10	59.2/15.0	28.5/21.0	7.1/14.9	5.2/24.4	2404
10-10:30	66.5/16.8	23.2/17.1	5.4/11.3	5.0/23.2	2404
10:30-11	66.4/16.8	23.1/17.1	5.5/11.6	5.0/23.0	2404
Column S.D.	0.10	0.49	1.18	3.42	

Table 3: Pearson Correlations Between Programming Strategies, Viewing Shares and New Video Media Penetration Ratios

	Pure Countering	Blunting A Counter	Countering A Blunt	Pure Blunting
Viewing Share	.25	.54	-.46	-.81
VCR Penetration	-.35	-.46	.43	.90
Cable Penetration	-.19	-.62	.46	.78
Premium Cable Penetration	-.10	-.65	.45	.67

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APPENDIX I

01	Adventure
02	Cartoon
03	Children's
04	Political Debate
05	Documentary
06-1	Adventure Drama
06-2	Courtroom/Civil/Law Drama
06-3	Crime/Police/Detective Drama
06-4	Comedy Drama
06-5	Documentary Drama
06-6	General Drama
06-7	Medical Drama
06-8	War Drama
07	Music
08	News/Commentary/News Analysis
09	News Magazine
10	Science Fiction
11	Situation Comedy
12	Sports
13	Talk/Discussion
14	Variety
15	Western
16	Movie
17	Special
18	Reality Program
19	Other

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Health Coverage in California Newspapers:
CVD and AIDS Compete for Space

S. Shyam Sundar
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Communication
Stanford University

STUDENT PAPER

Submitted to the Science Communicators Interest Group for presentation at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
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RUNNING HEAD: Health Coverage

Health Coverage in California Newspapers:
CVD and AIDS Compete for Space

Abstract

This is a descriptive paper based on content analysis of California dailies published between 1977 and 1990. It examines amount of coverage given to health in general and cardiovascular disease (CVD) and AIDS in particular. While CVD was promoted by a massive health campaign, AIDS got on the media agenda due to secular trends. This paper reveals a ceiling on the amount of health coverage, suggesting that the two diseases competed for space.

Health Coverage in California Newspapers:
CVD and AIDS Compete for Space

A basic strategy for improving the effectiveness of public information campaigns is to use the wide reach of newspapers, magazines, radio, and television by increasing the amount of health information delivered through these mass media (e.g., Brown & Einsiedel, 1990). The "social marketing" approach, modeled after such business practices as market research and commercial product advertising (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971), aims at using the mass media to promote various health issues, and has been widely advocated (e.g., Manoff, 1985). The mass media are employed not only to carry out massive health campaigns (e.g., Atkin, 1979), from the promotion of family planning (Udry, 1974) to education about AIDS (e.g., Freimuth & Hammond, 1988), but also to further various national health education programs by informing people about the latest findings of clinical investigations (e.g., Bellicha & McGrath, 1990).

Health interventionists have long noted the agenda-setting function of the mass media in influencing public opinion on political matters, and hope to harness this powerful influence for spreading social messages about public health (e.g., Shaw & McCombs, 1989). By bringing health issues to the limelight through the media, public health practitioners hope to make health a salient aspect in the lives of people, to make them think about healthy behaviors.

There is an attempt to alter the agenda of the media, and hence most studies about the health content in newspapers and television take on the form of feasibility studies. The "social marketing" approach is taken so seriously that, regardless of the impact on eventual readers and viewers, the evaluation of a media campaign is based on how much importance was given in the media to the cause of the interventionists. Efforts are made to assess the prominence given to campaign-related news releases and the influence different media outlets in a market have on each other when it comes to coverage of the focal health topic (e.g., Danielian & Reese, 1989).

While this may be a standard technique for evaluating commercial ventures (product launches and such other PR efforts), it may not be entirely appropriate for social marketing of health issues. Unlike products, health is already a part of the media's regular output. This might mean that the media already have a health agenda, and the campaign agenda is likely to interact with this agenda. Unlike a promotional for a new commercial venture, press releases for health issues do not enter a vacuum but most likely impinge upon some preset health agenda held by the media.

Health Coverage

Reported growth in the public preference for health news has prompted newspapers and television stations to increase their health-related content over the years (Simpkins & Brenner, 1984), with some newspapers adding regular special sections devoted exclusively to health. That is, intervention or not, the media have a Health Newshole that may or may not be in line with campaign objectives. The health hole may be rigid in its frequency of distribution of space to different health issues, for example; the editors in charge may be more keen on publicizing technological solutions to ill-health than on preventive measures; and so on and so forth.

The idea of an already existent health hole is significant — not just because it entertains the notion that public information campaigns may be unnecessary, but because it might engender gatekeeping practices that help or hinder media-based community-wide health interventions. It is thus of crucial importance to health communicators as well as campaign planners to understand the components and dynamics of the health hole.

Health communication research is preoccupied with looking at changes in coverage as a function of some event in the external environment or in public or policy agendas (e.g., Rogers, Dearing & Chang, 1991), and all unexpected results are attributed to the so-called secular trend. The much-dreaded secular trend is seldom quantified (e.g., Singer, Rogers & Corcoran, 1987) or clearly explicated because there is virtually no attempt to ascertain the normal, day-to-day composition of a newspaper's health hole. The present study attempts to do precisely that by investigating the length and breadth of the health hole in six California newspapers for a period of 14 years. It will be a descriptive account of the baserates pertaining to the newspapers' coverage of health-related articles.

The study is also an attempt to verify anecdotal evidence of the increase in health consciousness in California gleaned from summary statistics of the prevalence of risky behaviors (e.g., Sanchietti & Perkins, 1989). With a broad sweep covering the late 1970s and the entire decade of the 1980s, it will showcase the variations in the quantity as well as quality of health-related content in California newspapers with a view to understanding not only the media agenda but also the role of the health hole as an operationalization of community health attitudes.

CVD Coverage

Most importantly, the study aims to assess the impact of a community-wide health intervention on the media agenda. It is a follow-up to the Stanford Heart Disease Prevention Program, which administered an education campaign intervention in two communities (Monterey and Salinas) between 1980 and 1985 and collected survey data from these communities as well as two others (Modesto and San Luis Obispo), the latter serving as controls for test effects.

AIDS Coverage

In addition, the present investigation looks at the composition of the health hole. Since AIDS was the biggest health news issue in the '80s, this study specifically looks at coverage of AIDS in California newspapers with a view to replicating national studies documenting the rise of AIDS in the news agenda (e.g., Rogers, Dearing & Chang, 1991).

Research Questions

Since the present research is exploratory in nature, no specific hypotheses will be proposed, but the results will be interpreted in terms of potential hypotheses. Broadly, the following general questions are sought to be answered by this paper:

1) What is the size of the Health Hole in California newspapers?
2) What is the constitution of this Health Hole? That is, what are the common types of health issues covered?
3) How stable is the health hole over time?
4) How stable is the constitution of the health hole?
5) What is the impact of the campaign on size and constitution of health hole? (Heart Disease coverage)
6) What is the impact of external secular trends on size and constitution of health hole? (AIDS coverage)

Method

Sampling

The six newspapers chosen for this study are the Los Angeles Times, Modesto Bee, Monterey Peninsula Herald, Salinas Californian, San Jose Mercury News, and the San Luis Obispo Telegraph-Tribune. The selection was prompted by the fact that the Stanford Heart Disease Prevention Program was administered in Monterey and Salinas, and the program collected 'control' survey data from two other comparable cities, Modesto and San Luis Obispo. Since two of these four small-city newspapers do not have Sunday editions, two nearby big-city newspapers, Los Angeles Times and San Jose Mercury News, were included in the sample. The final mix reflects an admirable diversity: both big-city and small-city newspapers; chain as well as independent newspapers; newspapers from cities with varying health consciousness; newspapers from cities that had community-wide health education campaign during the period of study as well as from those that did not.

Given the greater likelihood of finding health-related items in the Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday editions, only these three days of the week were sampled. A stratified random sampling procedure was used to pick 24 issues for each year, from 1977 to 1990. A total of 336 dates were picked, and 1344 issues constituted the entire sample for the study.

Coding

All the health-related articles in each sampled issue were coded for length (number of paragraphs), origin (agent of story, section), type (news, feature, column, etc.), prominence (whether above the fold, accompanied by pictures, etc.), topic (a list of 23 topics ranging from heart disease to drugs to AIDS), and a host of related variables.

Coding was done using microfilms of the newspapers by 11 independent coders, each of whom received a randomized set of sample dates. In a 12-story reliability check, average between-coder agreement for the sole "subjective" variable —

topic – was 0.75 and the comprehensive inter-coder reliability was 0.97 (Holsti, 1969).

Data Analysis

A non-parametric test for trend was used to assess the significance of variations in the frequency of health stories over time (Gibbons, 1976). Ranks were assigned to years, with the most recent year ranked "1" (i.e., 1990 was "1," and 1977 was "14"). Next, ranks were assigned to the years based on the prevalence of key variables (e.g., the year with the most heart-related items or the highest frequency of AIDS-related items would be "1"). Kendall's tau was computed between the ranks, with positive values indicating increasing trends and negative values indicating decreasing trends.

Findings and Discussion

Health Coverage

A total of 7253 health-related articles were located in the entire sample. Table 1 provides a cross-tabulation of the articles found in the six newspapers over the 14 sampled years. The column on the extreme right shows the yearly frequencies of health-related articles for all newspapers combined. This might be conceptualized as the health hole in California newspapers.

Insert Table 1 about here

As can be seen, in most years, the health hole comprised around 500 articles, and there is no significant positive or negative trend in the number of articles (tau = .28, $p < 0.07$). However, this is not a null result when one considers the general decline in most newspaper content, from the "shrinking" foreign newshole (Riffe, Aust, Jones, Shoemake & Sundar, 1992) to the general depletion of the non-advertising newshole. From a business point of view, this is all the more remarkable because health sections are not big advertising draws.

The outlook then is heartening: The number of international news items may be going down, the article-to-ad ratio may be getting smaller, but the health hole, at least in California newspapers, is stable despite possible advertising pressure against it. This makes a clear case for newspapers truly reflecting community attitudes. Given the perceived increase in health consciousness amongst Californians, the continued maintenance of a healthy health hole is in part attributable to the newspapers' external environment. This can be a profoundly symbiotic relationship when one takes into account the effect on the health attitudes of people perusing the newspapers regularly and getting cultivated by them (e.g., Gerbner, Morgan & Signorielli, 1982).

Just like the number of health-related articles, the length of articles, measured in paragraphs, showed remarkable consistency over the years. They averaged around ten paragraphs, and their yearly sum was significantly correlated with the yearly frequency count of articles (Pearson's $r = .85$, $p < 0.001$) confirming past research correlating item frequency in a content category with space devoted to that category (Budd, Thorp & Donohew, 1967).

The trends for individual newspapers are not uniformly positive. Just like the aggregated trend, Modesto Bee and San Luis Obispo Telegraph-Tribune show no significance, while the big city newspapers, Los Angeles Times and San Jose Mercury News, exhibit a significant negative trend in their frequency of publishing health stories over the years, perhaps reflecting the national secular trend. The Monterey paper too shows a strong negative trend, but it is not linear, and seems to have dramatically dipped in health content after

1985. The Salinas Californian shows the strongest positive trend, possibly as a consequence of a five-year community health education campaign. But, while it led in its frequency, this paper had the shortest articles (average length = 8 paragraphs), with a peak of 12.5 mean paragraphs in 1977 to its lowest mean of 5.9 paragraphs in 1990. The Los Angeles Times, on the other hand, had the longest article length, ranging from 10 mean paragraphs in 1977 to 20 in 1990. This hints at an inverse relationship between size and number of articles in the health hole, and makes for a potentially complex health news agenda phenomenon in California newspapers.

CVD Coverage

Aside from the frequency and size of the health hole, the agenda may reflect a diversity of phenomena with various categories of health topics. For this article, the coverage of two health issues – Heart Disease and AIDS – is examined. Heart disease (or Cardiovascular disease) has become a major concern in recent years due to its massive prevalence in the industrialized world (Epstein & Pisa, 1979; Deaths and death rates for major causes of death for the United States, each division, and State; and by race and sex for the United States, 1990, 1993). The Stanford Heart Disease Prevention Program mounted a community-wide health education effort in two California cities, Salinas and Monterey, and found that a multifactor community-wide health education, delivered through multiple channels, was successful in reducing certain chronic disease risk factors at a reasonable cost in broad population groups (Farquhar, Fortmann, Flora, Taylor, Haskell, Williams, Maccoby & Wood, 1990). While the program made specific efforts to alter the news agenda in Salinas by offering a health column in the Californian, no such explicit attempts were made successfully to influence the media agenda in Monterey.

The present study devoted nine different coding categories related to heart disease and its risk factors: Heart General, Smoking, Blood Pressure, Exercise, Weight, Stress, Cholesterol, Fat Foods, and CVD-related Nutrition. These nine categories were aggregated into one for this article and labeled 'Heart-Related.' Table 2 shows a cross-tabulation of heart-related articles by year and publication. Overall, there is a positive trend (_tau_ = .59, _p_ < 0.01) indicating a significant increase in coverage given to heart-related topics over the years. The big city newspapers again show significant negative trends reflecting perhaps the secular trend towards lesser space for health stories. The coverage in the two 'control' cities, Modesto and San Luis Obispo, is unremarkable for the most part, with the _Bee_ showing a barely significant positive trend.

Insert Table 2 about here

Monterey Peninsula Herald's negative trend is disappointing, especially from the point of view of the interventionists. However, a closer analysis reveals that the trend is more a result of the negative health hole than an actual decline in heart-related stories. When the stories are aggregated into three campaign-relevant periods of time – before intervention, during, and after – there is no difference between the number of heart-related stories published before and during the campaign (Chi-Square = 2.49, _p_ = 0.11) or between the number of stories published during and after the campaign (Chi-Square = 1.18, _p_ = 0.23). This might suggest that the campaign's contribution was in fighting the negative trend and ensuring the maintenance of the level of coverage given to heart-related issues.

The highly significant positive trend shown by the Salinas Californian is both surprising and heartening because the efforts of the purposive campaign, with an eye on the local news agenda, seem to pay off not only during the course of the campaign but also long afterwards. The striking upward trend in the post-campaign period indicates that the news agenda responds remarkably well to a subtle prodding by campaign planners. Clearly, health became very salient to the Californian during the '80s, particularly heart-health, and this effect was not limited to the duration of the health education campaign in the city but endured much longer.

AIDS Coverage

Table 3 shows the frequency of stories related to AIDS in the six newspapers between 1982 and 1990. Immediately after entering the news agenda, AIDS gained prominence and managed to retain a priority position in California newspapers, in keeping with the agenda set by the national media (Shaw, 1987a; Shaw, 1987b). There was neither an upward nor a downward trend during the nine-year period of analysis, but the data show the two peaks – one in 1985 (caused by Rock Hudson and Ryan White) and the other in 1987 (when a federal official recommended mandatory testing for AIDS resulting in an outcry over civil rights and privacy) – that have been repeatedly noticed in national studies (e.g., Rogers, Dearing & Chang, 1991).

Insert Table 3 about here

Interestingly, these peaks in AIDS coverage coincide with subtle but noticeable dips in the coverage of other diseases, when graphs representing coverage over time of different health issues are superimposed, thus suggesting that the health hole, at least in California newspapers, is a finite entity. This means the priority given to a particular issue is likely to be at the cost of some other health concern, much like the widely criticized federal policy of fixing a budget for health and allotting more money to one disease while simultaneously downplaying another.

Conclusions

Overall, the health hole in California is on the rise and becoming healthier. There are no major changes in the size of the health hole over the 14 years under study. Unlike most content categories, health did not suffer a decrease in the amount of attention devoted to it in California newspapers. Hence, this may be seen as a net gain in health coverage.

However, when looked at individually, certain big-city California newspapers do not reflect such constancy in health coverage. Like all other content categories, health, it seems, has undergone a downward trend in the number of articles devoted to it. Whether this is part of a secular trend true of all big-city newspapers or a reflection of the revenue slump in the newspaper business affecting content that is unattractive to advertisers disproportionately is a only a matter of speculation, given the limitations of this study.

Although there was a downward trend in the number of articles, the big-city newspapers showed an increase in the length of health articles. This suggests that the type of articles being carried by the newspapers may be changing fundamentally as a result of some external factors like competing media or community attitudes, and is a matter for future research. It could be that with the growth of health bytes on television, newspapers are moving away from the short health news snippets to more in-depth articles giving greater attention to detail, accuracy, and context.

Results relating to the trends in the coverage of heart disease in California newspapers suggest that community-wide health education, especially if carried out by purposive intervention in the news agenda, can have desirable long-term effects in improving the health news environment in the community.

The strong presence of the AIDS issue in the news agenda during the '80s suggests not only that the news agenda is resilient but also that one health issue gets into the newspaper by supplanting another health issue due to the possible existence of a ceiling in the amount of health-related items carried by a newspaper.

Future studies from the dataset used in this article will look at the prominence of health articles, the relationship of the health hole to the rest of newspaper content, the inter-relationship of the various health topics in making up the health news agenda, the changes in focus (prevention, technology) of heart-related stories, and inter-newspaper agenda building dynamics.

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Table 1

Frequency of Health-Related Articles by Year and Publication

	Los Angeles Times	Modesto Bee	Monterey Peninsula Herald	Salinas Californian	San Jose Mercury News	San Luis Obispo TeleTribune	TOTAL
1977	63	118	164	40	87	96	568
1978	70	124	138	34	44	85	495
1979	50	110	124	65	49	97	495
1980	45	92	99	48	44	142	470
1981	38	84	89	42	37	110	400
1982	46	121	96	33	47	119	462
1983	52	122	116	54	44	142	530
1984	46	123	103	65	28	135	500
1985	52	163	105	61	58	134	573
1986	51	184	98	57	39	146	575
1987	50	157	99	126	42	127	601
1988	42	111	92	121	38	121	525
1989	26	116	93	197	36	113	581
1990	37	123	87	108	37	86	478
TOTAL	668	1748	1503	1051	630	1653	7253
Test for Trend Kendall's Tau:	**-.42***	**.24**	**-.57****	**.57****	**-.48****	**.13**	**.28**

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$

Table 2

Frequency of Heart-Related Articles by Year and Publication

	Los Angeles Times	Modesto Bee	Monterey Peninsula Herald	Salinas Califo--rnian	San Jose Mercury News	San Luis Obispo TeleTrib	TOTAL
1977	14	26	23	6	16	15	100
1978	21	35	40	7	14	13	130
1979	18	25	24	10	11	15	103
1980	12	26	21	17	12	32	120
1981	9	31	21	11	11	27	110
1982	14	43	18	14	13	25	127
1983	13	39	20	27	13	42	154
1984	11	39	27	29	6	32	144
1985	16	43	23	28	15	35	160
1986	7	52	16	17	11	27	130
1987	10	47	22	46	7	25	157
1988	15	36	16	34	11	25	137
1989	5	32	17	66	8	34	162
1990	9	41	23	39	5	29	146
TOTAL	174	515	311	351	153	376	1880
Test for Trend Kendall's Tau:	-.43*	.42*	-.33*	.79***	-.50**	.30	.59**

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 3

Frequency of AIDS-Related Articles by Year and Publication

	Los Angeles Times	**Modesto Bee**	**Monterey Peninsula Herald**	**Salinas Califo--rnian**	**San Jose Mercury News**	**San Luis Obispo TeleTrib**	**TOTAL**
1982	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
1983	3	3	7	3	1	1	18
1984	0	4	4	2	1	2	13
1985	8	25	26	7	12	9	87
1986	3	28	8	1	6	14	60
1987	2	33	20	10	11	19	95
1988	5	10	15	6	4	12	52
1989	4	16	10	12	3	8	53
1990	4	9	5	2	3	2	25
TOTAL	29	129	95	43	42	67	405
Test for Trend Kendall's Tau:	**.37**	**.38**	**.22**	**.36**	**.16**	**.36**	**.27**
	$p = 0.07$	$p = 0.07$	$p = 0.20$	$p = 0.08$	$p = 0.25$	$p = 0.08$	$p = 0.14$

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Reconstructing the Hollywood Indian

John M. Coward
Department of Communication
University of Tulsa
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74104
Telephone: (918) 631-2542
Internet: COMM_JC@ VAX1.UTULSA.EDU

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Abstract

Reconstructing the Hollywood Indian

This study examines the role of movies in defining popular ideas about Native Americans. Following a history of Indian ideas in film, the essay examines four recent strategies to revise Indian stereotypes: (1) racially appropriate casting; (2) historical accuracy; (3) empathetic characters; and (4) mainstream Indian stories. These practices are examined in *Dances With Wolves* and other recent films. Despite many improvements, the study concludes that Native Americans remain marginal both on screen and within the industry.

Reconstructing the Hollywood Indian

Even before *Dances With Wolves* won the Academy Award for Best Picture of 1990, the movie industry was being praised for its newly enlightened image of the American Indian. "Hollywood's War On Indians Draws to a Close," the New York Times proclaimed(Lew, 1990, p. H15). In *Dances,* the Sioux warriors—men usually portrayed as the bloodthirsty savages of the northern plains—were fully rounded characters, as capable of love and kindness as of deceit and treachery. Director and star Kevin Costner cast actual native people to play Indian roles, put about 30 percent of the film in the Lakota language, and revealed the human side of the Sioux so long overlooked in previous Westerns. Even some of the movie's severest critics have acknowledged the movie's "noteworthy breakthroughs" (Churchill, 1991, p. 76).

After decades of clichés and formula Indians, the popular and critical response to *Dances With Wolves* signaled Hollywood's belated discovery of "realistic" Indians, characters who were portrayed more accurately and humanely than in the past. Costner's epic, in fact, was the most visible film in an entertainment industry trend which includes such recent movies as *Powwow Highway;* *Black Robe, Thunderheart, The Last of the Mohicans* and *Geronimo: An American Legend.*

But this reworked "good Indian" of the late 1980s and early 90s was the creation of the same Hollywood studios that produced the original "bad Indian" stereotype, a fact that inspires more questions than confidence. Is the new Hollywood Indian substantially different from the old? If so, how and why? What are the cultural characteristics of the "new" Hollywood Indian? This essay examines the entertainment industry's reconstruction of the Native American image in several recent films. The study examines the idea of the Indian in the films themselves as well as the industry's public discourse concerning this idea and its meanings. The essay begins with a brief theoretical discussion and then moves to a historical overview of the Indian idea in Hollywood. The remainder of the study examines the cultural, political and economic issues raised by these movies as they attempt to reconstruct the popular image of Native Americans.

Movies and Racial Meaning

In *Racial Formation in the United States,* Omi and Winant (1986) argue for a new understanding of race and its role in American life. Specifically, they write that race is properly located at the very center of American political history, a move they believe helps deepen and expand the ideologies of race and racial identification in the U.S. Omi and Winant propose their own theory of "racial formation," a theory that emphasizes

> the social nature of race, the absence of any essential racial characteristics, the historical flexibility of racial meanings and categories, the conflictual nature of race..., and the irreducible political aspect of racial dynamics (p. 4).

Such ideas are useful because they highlight the ways in which race and racial ideas are arbitrary as well as artificial, constructed not from the realities of biological difference but out of existing social and political inequalities.

This study links the theory of racial formation to the content and practices of the popular media. This connection follows Althusser's argument that "an ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice or practices" (quoted in Tagg, 1988, p. 188). Omi (1989) has also made this connection:

> Popular culture has been an important realm within which racial ideologies have been created, reproduced, and sustained. Such ideologies provide a framework of symbols, concepts, and images through which we understand, interpret, and represent aspects of our 'racial' existence" (p. 114).

In other words, racial representations in the media have power because they are tied to fundamental understandings of and assumptions about racial identity and difference. This essay builds on these ideas by considering Hollywood movies as an important sites for the production of racial meanings and the clarification racial identities and differences. Moreover, this study argues that these meanings, identities and differences are produced within an economic and cultural system that has its own peculiar and distorting practices. Gray (1991) has argued, for example, that representations of minority life in popular media "are routinely fractured, selectively assembled, and subsequently become a part of the storehouse of American racial memory" (p. 295). Film and television, Omi (1989) adds, have been "notorious in disseminating images of racial minorities which establish for audiences what these groups look like, how they behave, and, in essence 'who they are'" (p. 115).

This essay analyzes the shifting idea of Native Americans in film, a medium that has used and misused native images from its beginnings. As ideas about Native Americans and their place in the society have evolved, film makers have struggled to create and then re-create the Indian in terms that are compatible with the dominant ideology and, more importantly for them, popular with the movie-going public. By studying the economic and production practices involved in creation of the Hollywood Indian, this study identifies some of the assumptions and limitations of racial formation in Hollywood and describes the racial positioning of native people in American society.

A Legacy of Misrepresentation

The misrepresentation of the Indian in American culture began well before the invention of the motion picture, as Berkhofer (1979), Pearce (1988) and others have shown. Friar and Friar (1972) connect the early movie image of the Indian to a series of popular forms, including the captivity narratives of the colonial era, the Leather-Stocking novels of James Fenimore Cooper, nineteenth century dramas, dime novels and penny dreadfuls, operas, and wild west shows. Given the popularity of Indians in entertainment, they write, it is little wonder that some of the first film vignettes made by Thomas Edison featured Indians, including a 1894 work called *Sioux Ghost Dance* . This film, Friar and Friar write, capitalizes on the notoriety of the 1890 Wounded Knee massacre and marks "the beginnings of motion picture exploitation [of Native Americans]" (p. 69).

The producers of the silent westerns continued to use—or, more accurately, misuse—Indians to tell their stories. As Friar and Friar point out, Indian villains quickly became fixtures in the movies of the pioneer film makers: Thomas Ince's *An Indian Martyr* (1911) and *Custer's Last Fight* (1912), D.W. Griffith's *The Battle At Elderbush Gulch* (1913), and C. B. De Mille's first film, *The Squaw Man* (1913). Such films were so popular that movie makers repeated the formula *ad infinitum*, producing, by Friar and Friar's count, more than 100 Indian films in 1910, almost 200 in 1911, about 150 in 1912, and more than 100 in 1913. Although the Indian theme slowed somewhat with the outbreak of World War I, Friar and Friar note, the reinvigorated "bad Indian" stereotype of the nineteenth century was already an established and popular element in the most vivid and dramatic medium of the twentieth century. "No other race or culture depicted on film has been made to assume such a permanent fictional identity," Friar and Friar write (p. 2).

The bad Indian proved useful to early movie makers for several reasons. First, as suggested above, Indian stories had been popular for decades, and film, as a medium of sight and sound, capitalized on this popularity by revealing Indians as exotic action characters. Moreover, silent westerns needed evil, easily identifiable villains, and the bad Indian stereotype was perfect for this role. Finally, native life was easy for film makers to expropriate: a few feathers, some rustic-style clothing, a few painted horses and—presto!—"authentic" Indians to menace the women and children before being vanquished by the hero. In need of simplified stories and uncomplicated characters, early Hollywood found the savage image of the American Indian both convenient and profitable.

If the bad Indian was the most common and infamous aspect of the early Hollywood Indian, it was not the only one. Indeed, some early movie makers quickly developed a competing, "good Indian" character, idealized most often as the Noble Savage. From Cooper and other nineteenth century sources, movie makers began developing good Indians as the natural and virtuous children of the forest, unsullied by civilization. Hollywood used this theme as early as 1908, when *Pocahontas* first appeared on the screen. A few titles from 1910 illustrate Hollywood's version of the good Indian: *The Maid of Niagara, An Indian's Gratitude, The Heart of a Sioux,* and *White Fawn's Devotion* (Friar and Friar, pp. 92-93). Other producers drew on Cooper directly; two versions each of *The Last of the Mohicans* and *The Deerslayer* were made in the early teens (Friar and Friar). A 1912 Ince production, *Indian Massacre,* attempted, despite its title, to treat Indians as people, not just savages. "Some writers realized from the start that Indians could be of greater dramatic value if their status was elevated to something more than rifle fodder," Calder noted (1974, p. 42). Despite the prominence of the Noble Savage, the evil Indian remained more popular in early Hollywood. Friar and Friar explain this in business terms: "Whereas the noble red man attracted many, it was the savage Indian who made money for the studios" (p. 104).

Although some films openly sympathetic to Native Americans appeared in the 1930s and 40s, the "breakthrough" for the Noble Savage in Hollywood began in the 1950s. *Broken Arrow* , released in 1950, featured Jeff Chandler as Cochise and attempted to correct Hollywood's bad Indian image by portraying the natives as "proud, noble, decent, but oppressed people" (Friar and Friar, p. 202). *Apache* (1954) featured Burt Lancaster as an idealistic Indian more compassionate than the cavalry and Elvis Presley was cast as a sympathetic half-breed in *Flaming Star* (1960) (Wuntch, 1990).

Unfortunately, as Native Americans and other observers have noted, these attempts as cinematic sympathy did little more than recycle the clichés of the silent film era. *Broken Arrow* was, in a phrase, "filled with nonsense" (Tuska, 1985, p. 243). Bosley Crowther, film critic of the New York *Times*, found the movie's good intentions wholly insufficient to justify its ideology: "No, we cannot accept this picture as either an exciting or reasonable account of the attitudes and ways of American Indians. They merit justice, but not such patronage" (quoted in Friar and Friar, p. 202). Despite such notices, the film was popular enough to make Chandler a star and spin-off an early television series. Tuska concluded that neither *Broken Arrow* nor any of the other "breakthrough" films of the 1950s did much more than reaffirm the artificial dichotomy between good Indians and bad. The simple stereotypes of the Hollywood Indian remained unchanged.

Hollywood made new attempts to re-create the Indian in the racially turbulent 1960s, again with limited success. "To many," western historian Paul Hutton wrote of this era, "Indian life offered a valid counterculture, a more organic, rational, and natural existence than that of white society" (1992, p. 414). John Ford's final film, *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964) reflected the director's apparent admiration for Indians and was, one critic said, "genuinely moving in its treatment of the betrayals suffered by American Indians" (Wuntch, 1990). Tuska, however, criticized Ford's distortions of history and his paternalistic treatment of the Cheyenne. In 1967, Paul Newman—blue eyes and all—played a half-breed Apache in *Hombre*. Newman's character was a strong and sympathetic loner who sacrificed his life to save some small-minded whites. The "white Apache" was the hero of the story, though as Tuska pointed out, the ideology of this particular western required the hero to die on behalf of white society. *Tell Them Willie Boy is Here* (1969) starred Robert Blake and Katherine Ross as an Indian couple in love, portrayed as superior to the white lovers, played by Robert Redford and Susan Clark. In these and other films, Hollywood tried mightily to show compassion toward Indian life and to demonstrate the superiority of native people, even though white stars were still cast as natives and the stories themselves recycled the clichés of the Noble Savage.

Western historian Paul Hutton has emphasized the importance of story and myth in western movies. In an essay on Custer's image in Hollywood, Hutton (1992) traced the ups and downs of Custer and his Indian enemies. The pro-Custer era reached its zenith with *They Died With Their Boots On*, a 1941 fairy tale starring Errol Flynn. At a time when the nation was reeling from the shock of Pearl Harbor, Hutton wrote, the public identified with Custer's Last Stand. "[Director Raoul] Walsh never intended for the film to reflect historical fact," Hutton concluded," but rather to reflect how history should have been. The myth had become more important than the reality..." (p. 410). In other words, Hollywood was (and is) more interested in a good story than in historical reality—a quality that informs (or, more accurately, *misinforms*) the new Hollywood Indian as well.

The most acclaimed and controversial reworking of the Hollywood Indian of the 1960s era was *Little Big Man* (1970), Authur Penn's film based on the Thomas Berger's 1964 novel. Although the film cast some Asians and Hispanics as Indians, it attempted to go beyond the good-bad stereotype by developing a variety of Indian characters. It was also one of the first films to use native languages extensively. The film starred Dustin Hoffman as Jack Crabb, a white youth who moves between a hostile, sometimes insane white world and a more humane and understanding native world. Crabb eventually encounters George Armstrong Custer, who is played as a raving lunatic, true to the anti-establishment, anti-war conventions of the day. The breakthrough in *Little Big Man* was not sympathy to the Indians—a tried and true formula in Hollywood—but the satirical and explicit criticism of American society. In fact, the film was widely seen as a commentary on the imperialism of the Vietnam War, a view which made it popular with young viewers but also undercut its effectiveness as a vehicle for the re-creating the Native American image in film.

The Reconstructed Hollywood Indian

Hollywood's interest in Native Americans has waxed and waned over the years. The most recent rise in interest followed the rebirth of the western—a genre nearly dead for twenty years—in novels such as Evan Connell's *Son of the Morning Star* in 1984 and Larry McMurtry's *Lonesome Dove* in 1985. Both novels became mini-series on television and helped inspire several new movie westerns, including *Young Guns I* and *II* in 1988 and 1990 and Clint Eastwood's *Unforgiven* in 1992. Besides *Dances With Wolves,* Native American stories turned up in *Powwow Highway* in 1989, *Black Robe* in 1991, *Thunderheart* and *The Last of the Mohicans* in 1992 and *Geronimo: An American Legend* in 1994. *Incident at Oglala*, a documentary produced by Robert Redford about the 1975 Wounded Knee conflict, was released in 1992.

These productions gave Hollywood still another chance to remake the Indian image. In an era of ethnic sensitivity, Hollywood producers faced new pressures to portray native people and their cultures "realistically" and "authentically," although these terms were not well defined. Hollywood responded with four primary strategies: (1) casting natives to play native roles (or at the New York *Times* put it, "racially appropriate casting"), (2) greater attention to historical accuracy in costume, location and language, (3) more complex and empathetic native characters whose actions and motives are fully explained, and (4) a new prominence for native roles and stories. With varying degrees of success, *Dances With Wolves*, *Thunderheart* and *Black Robe* used such strategies to construct a more sensitive and accurate Indian image.

Racially Appropriate Casting: The list of white actors who have played Indian roles is long if not always distinguished: Don Ameche, Dame Judith Anderson, Ann Bancroft, Yul Brenner, Tony Curtis, Buddy Hackett, Boris Karloff, Bela Lugosi, Burgess Meredith, Rita Moreno, Jack Palance, Anthony Quinn, Donna Reed, William Shatner, Robert Wagner, John Wayne, and Loretta Young (Friar and Friar, pp. 281-83). Given this history, the casting of natives to play native roles would seem a simple solution to a long-standing problem. Yet casting has remained a controversial issue, in part because of the lack of native actors, especially native stars capable of drawing large audiences.

Nevertheless, Hollywood has made progress. In *Dances With Wolves*, for example, Kevin Costner featured a number of native actors in major roles, including some with no acting experience. Among those featured were Rodney A. Grant, Floyd Red Crow Westerman, Nathan Lee Chasing His Horse, and Tantoo Cardinal. Graham Greene, a Canadian-born Oneida Indian, was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor. Finding 150 natives to play in the film was not easy. *Dances'* casting director Elisabeth Leustig took four months to fill the movie's Indian roles. "The pool of Indian actors is very small," she reported (Svetkey, 1991, p. 21). On a casting call in South Dakota, Leustig saw about 2,000 would-be native actors. The lead roles went to veterans; both Grant and Greene had a number of film credits. The success of these actors and the popularity of the of western helped increase the number of Indian actors. In 1990, the American Indian Registry for the Performing Arts reported about 250 members, up from 87 in 1989. (Lew, 1990, p. H15).

But the casting issue is not always so straightforward, as Robert Redford found out when he sought a native actor to star in *The Dark Wind*, a mystery based on a popular Tony Hillerman detective novel. Redford and producer Patrick Markey spent more than a year looking for a native to play Jim Chee, the Navajo detective who is the mystery's main character. Markey told the New York *Times*:

> We've considered 2,500 people for that role and have on tape 300 candidates. All of us were committed to finding a Native American to play that role. But we did not feel that we were able to come up with someone who could open the movie and make the movie succeed.

The person eventually given the part was Lou Diamond Phillips, a Texan who won critical acclaim for his role in *La Bamba* and who played a Mexican-Navaho in the *Young Guns* movies. The decision to cast Phillips, who says he is part Cherokee, was criticized by Navahos and others in the Native American film community. Producer Markey defended Diamond's hiring. "He's a very good actor, can open a movie and he's someone whom the American public will buy tickets to see," Markey said. "He's also very concerned with Native American issues."

Markey's logic demonstrates how Hollywood practices have ideological consequences. Phillips is not Navaho, but he is part Cherokee. Despite a host of differences between these cultures, Phillips' "Indianness" was sufficient to qualify him for the part. Also, Phillips' sympathy to Indian issues—his good heart—was used to justify his casting. Most importantly, of course, Markey acknowledged Phillips' box office appeal, an economic consideration of overriding importance for the success of the film. Bonnie Paradise, executive director of the American Indian Registry, has criticized Hollywood's continuing emphasis on stars. "We get a lot of important roles, but rarely the major roles because Hollywood still wants to go with names. But how are we ever going to get to that status if we aren't given that chance?" (Lew, p. H18).

Does the use of native actors actually change the popular meaning of the Hollywood Indian? Obviously, it does put more native faces (and potential stars) before the public. On the other hand, the use of Indian actors does not guarantee that their roles will be accurate or that the Indian images portrayed will be any more representative than in the past. Moreover, native actors who remain only actors have no power over scripts, casting, editing and the like, an economic and political factor that limits their control over the native image in Hollywood.

It is also worth noting that non-native actors might play native roles more powerfully and even more "realistically" than native actors. Such a case arose in the late 1980s in London stage production of *Miss Saigon*, when a British actor named Jonathan Pryce played a Eurasian pimp to great acclaim. This argument, however, has found few supporters in the Native American film community, which insists that there are many talented native actors who can and should be cast in native roles. Robert De Niro, executive producer of *Thunderheart*, recognized this fact when he declined to star in that movie. Screenwriter John Fusco explained, "I was never sold on the idea of his playing one of the roles, and once he met with the Native Americans on the reservations, he was convinced he shouldn't play any of the parts." Fusco added, "There are just too many good Native American actors who have a great sense of humor and theatricality" (Wuntch, 1990, p. 4C). Such an attitude may, in time, allow Native American actors to gain enough power and influence to control their own images and produce their own movies.

Historical accuracy: If the devil is in the details, as the saying goes, then recent movies have tried to rid themselves of the demon of historical inaccuracy. Most prominently, *Dances With Wolves* producers went to great lengths to ensure correct historical detail in wardrobe, props and location. Most of the movie was shot in South Dakota, the center of Sioux Country, and the crew spent six months in pre-production. "There weren't many shortcuts," said Jim Wilson, co-producer of the film. "The film maker's job today is to make it real, whether it's about Native Americans or Eskimos or blacks" (Lew, 1990, H15). Screenwriter Michael Blake, from whose novel the film was drawn, claimed the story was inspired by his reading of Indian history, including Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, a book which tells western history from the native point of view (Costner, p. xvi).

Dances' costume designer Elsa Zamparelli also did her part to "make it real," collecting 625 bearskins for costumes. Zamparelli also hired a technical advisor, Cathy Smith, described as "a 19th-century Plains Indian expert and South Dakota native..." (Lew, 1990, 18H). One popular magazine was so taken with the movie's commitment to accuracy that it ran a full page on Smith and artifact consultant Larry Belitz, the man who created about 400 buffalo-hair robes and pillows, cooking pots made from buffalo stomachs, and the like. Both advisors praised Kevin Costner's devotion to realism. "*Dances* set a standard. I don't think there has ever been a film about Indians that was done correctly in terms of costumes or props," Smith said (Berkman, 1991, p. 22). Added Belitz, "This was as authentic as Hollywood could get."

The contemporary Indian story *Thunderheart* also made a claim to accuracy of place and tone. According to the *Times,* screenwriter John Fusco drew on his experiences living in the Pine Ridge Reservation to make his story more realistic. Moreover, Fusco was described as "a lifelong student of American Indian religions and philosophy and...a Sioux honorary adoptee" (Lew, 1990, p. H19). Presumably, these factors give him the insight and empathy to write a more accurate and authentic screenplay.

The trend toward historical accuracy has reached even television's depiction of Indians. Commenting on the ABC mini-series *Son of the Morning Star,* a Hopi man involved in the production was convinced:

> They were concerned that everything be correct, right down to the buttons on the shirt and type of weaponry used. They brought in a young Navaho man to give advice on makeup, including the paint on the horses. They completely took all the Hollywood out of the filming of *Son of the Morning Star.* (Wuntch, 1990, p. 4C).

What's assumed here, of course, is that the critic, a Hopi, and the makeup expert, a Navaho, had some understanding of the traditions and customs of the Sioux and Cheyenne warriors who participated in the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Perhaps they did. Significantly, however, this press account did not attempt to establish any expertise beyond tribal identity, a commentary itself on what passes for "authenticity" concerning Native Americans in popular discourse.

Finally, the increased use of native languages would seem to be an easy way of adding realistic detail to Indian films. As noted above, it was one of the reasons *Little Big Man* was seen as a breakthrough film. Before that, ersatz Indians usually spoke gibberish, a fact which offended native viewers and probably mystified many non-natives. Still, conventional wisdom in Hollywood has it that American audiences are alienated by subtitles and Orion Pictures was understandably worried when Costner shot about one-third of *Dances With Wolves* in Lakota, much of it subtitled. The subtitles, along with the film's three-hour plus length, led Hollywood cynics to dub the film "Costner's Last Stand." As it turned out, *Dances With Wolves* was a huge popular and critical success, perhaps *because* of its use of Lakota, a detail which increased the film's perceived authenticity and subverted conventional Hollywood thinking.

Historically accurate details in costume, location and language—what art historians call "surface realism"—may be signs of increased respect for native traditions in Hollywood; certainly they are taken that way in the popular media, as suggested above. Yet accuracy in details is no guarantee of "realism" or "authenticity" concerning Native Americans in film; these terms are, after all, complicated and themselves embedded in ideology. Accuracy of detail, then, is perhaps best seen as a necessary but insufficient part of Hollywood's continuing effort to construct a richer and more honest native image. Without accurate details, an such an image is problematic; with accurate details, it is at least possible. By this measure, *Dances With Wolves* and *Thunderheart* can be seen as improvements over Hollywood's typical Indian movie.

Beyond the Stereotype: If the native image in film has been narrowly two dimensional, recent movie makers deliberately attempted to enlarge the range of native characters and to explain their motives and actions more clearly. *Dances* developed a range of positive Sioux characters, expanding the Noble Savage cliché. Fifteen-year-old Nathan Lee Chasing His Horse, for example, played a Sioux boy described in the press as "chronically happy" (Svetkey, 1991,p. 21). The same writer described a minor role played by Tantoo Cardinal as "sweetly sardonic." These and other roles in *Dances* gave the producers a chance to reconstruct the Sioux image, revealing them as normal human beings with a variety of problems and concerns, a characterization remarkable only because it has been used so infrequently in film portrayals of the Sioux.

Other recent films have tried to remake the evil Indian. In the 1992 version of *The Last of the Mohicans*, the bloodthirsty savage was humanized and explained. Wes Studi, an Oklahoma Cherokee who played the vengeful Magua in *Mohicans,* viewed his role as an great improvement. Studi said,

> Magua has a reason for doing everything that he's doing. And that's one of the things that has been missing from movies in the past. We always got the idea before that these bad Indians were being bad because 'that's the way they are.' They're just bad and they're mean and they're the enemy. But in this movie we acknowledge that there's something human involved in their actions (quoted in King, 1992, p. H1).

The explanation of Indian motives was also evident in *Thunderheart.* The movie's corrupt tribal officials were motivated by greed, the same motive assigned the movie's corrupt FBI agents. In this way, *Thunderheart's* portrayal of native wickedness was constructed so that it could be understood as an ordinary human failing, not a failing unique to Indians.

The trend toward sympathetic Indian characters has not gone unchallenged, however. Indeed, its emergence has been viewed as evidence of Hollywood's liberal bias and penchant for political correctness. Specifically, cultural conservatives have complained that the new Hollywood Indian is yet another return to the romanticism of the Noble Savage. The problem, according to Paul Valentine of the Washington *Post* (1991), is that *Dances With Wolves* and other productions have recreated the good Indian not to serve historical accuracy but as a way of purging five hundred years of white guilt. In particular, Valentine claimed, the new wave of Hollywood Indians have been created with three idealistic qualities: (1) a unique reverence for the earth, (2) a strong social contract buttressed by ancient wisdom and guided by humane instincts, and (3) an immutable claim to every acre of America. "But history," Valentine writes, "tells us that Indians, like all other groups on the face of the earth, are a mixed lot with an enormous and varied capacity for both good and evil." Valentine goes on to cite historical evidence that shows both the good and evil sides of Native American life, a reality he believes has been slighted by recent Hollywood image-makers.

Similar arguments were made by a reviewer for the conservative student magazine *Campus* (Uschak, 1991). He criticized Costner's oversimplification of the frontier: the whites were mostly evil, while the Sioux could do no wrong. Unlike Valentine, however, this writer gave Costner credit for showing bad Indians (the Pawnees), but agreed with Valentine that Costner warped history to make his Indians politically correct: "[O]ne gets the impression that Costner's motive is less to be historically accurate than to emphasize the inherent purity of the Sioux."

Such comments point to the problematic and political nature of "truth," "accuracy," "realism," and "authenticity" in the popular portrayal of Native Americans. Native people and their supporters want a more positive image of Indians in film, arguing that such portrayals are long overdue and necessary to off-set decades of negative stereotypes. Yet conservative critics are right in warning against the over-romantic treatment of Indians; this stereotype, as we have seen, is also unfair to Native Americans. Not surprisingly, both sides in the dispute invoke "history," though this term is also problematic, especially as it relates to Native Americans and their place in American history (Martin, 1987). One aspect on which both Hollywood and its critics agree has to do with humanity and variety. That is, both camps seem to agree that Native Americans deserve recognition as full human characters capable of a variety of human emotions and actions. Such screen portrayals would seem to be a modest goal, yet they have been largely missing from Hollywood's past. On this score, *Dances With Wolves, The Last of the Mohicans, Black Robe,* and *Thunderheart* have advanced, if only slightly, the humanity of the Hollywood Indian.

The Marginalized Indian: The western has been a popular genre for so long that new movies can be compared and contrasted to the standard conventions of the form. Tuska (1988), for example, has identified seven basic plots in the western: (1) the pioneer achievement story, (2) picaresque wanders and searchers, (3) the ranch story/town western, (4) the justice/revenge theme, (5) the Indian story, (6) the outlaw story, and (7) the law man story. Without knowing anything else about such formulas, this listing reveals the marginal place of Native Americans within the genre. Only in the Indian story are native people close to the center of the narrative, Tuska notes, and even within this plot "the white characters can always remain in the forefront" (p. 32). Moreover, Tuska writes, the Indian story commonly portrays the negative dimension of Indian-white encounters, usually because renegade Indians are the motivating evil necessary to the plot. Tuska's analysis demonstrates how little room there is in the traditional western to develop full and diverse treatments of native characters.

Berkhofer offers a similar reading of the conventional western. In his analysis, the frontier is a place where civilization meets savagery and, in accordance with American ideals, "savagery must recede before the vanguard of White society..." (p. 97). In this classic formula, the Indians might be either good or bad, but they remain outside of civilized society. Most importantly for the Indian, Berkhofer notes, the classic western marginalizes native people: "No matter how important the Indian might be to the Western plot and genre, he usually served in the end as the backdrop rather than the center of attention..." (p. 98).

With some notable variations, *Dances With Wolves* repeats the classic formula. As explained in the book about the making of the movie, Lt. John Dunbar (Kevin Costner) asks "to be posted West, on the frontier. It didn't matter where, but it was his long-held dream to see the vast expanses of prairie and sky about which he'd heard so much" (Costner, 1990, p. 9). This is, of course, a thoroughly romantic impulse and it allows Dunbar to go travel the edge of civilization. "The country is everything I dreamed it would be," Dunbar says in the movie. "There is no place like it on earth" (Costner, p. 21).

Moreover, Berkhofer points out that the classic western hero frequently represents a blend of savagery and civilization, a characteristic which soon turns up in Dunbar. The movie makes this clear when Dunbar is posted to the abandoned Fort Sedgewick and immediately begins to clean and repair the site. Yet the longer he stays there, the more "savage" he becomes and the more respect he has for his Sioux neighbors. "Nothing I have been told about these people is correct," Dunbar writes in his journal. "They are not beggars and thieves. They are not the bogeymen they have been made out to be" (Costner, p. 52).

It is also notable that *Dances With Wolves* does not violate the miscegenation rule so often employed in the classic western (Tuska, 1988). In life, Dunbar might have fallen in love with any number of Sioux women. But in the movie, Dunbar happens to fall for, and then marry, the one white woman in the Sioux village. In *Dances,* this relationship is largely based on language, since the white woman, Stands With a Fist, knows English and is needed to help translate between Dunbar and the tribe. Nevertheless, no sexual relationship between Dunbar and a Sioux woman is suggested, avoiding a racially sensitive issue which might complicate the movie's romantic narrative and bring dishonor to Dunbar, the story's unblemished hero.

Finally, it is significant that *Dances With Wolves* is a historical depiction of Indian life, repeating yet another critical part of the classic western. In *Dances* and most other Hollywood productions, Indians are imagined as people of an older and more majestic time, safely in the past and mostly forgotten. It is clear that Costner and writer Blake intended to celebrate native life in the movie (Costner, 1990), but *Dances* itself is unashamedly nostalgic, positioning the Indians as artifacts of a bygone era. To their credit, Costner and Blake have acknowledged the romance of the movie. Costner described it as "a romantic look at a terrible time in our history..." (Costner, p. viii). Wrote Blake, "I love the west as it once was, teeming with buffalo and wolves. And I love the reverent, free people from whom I have learned so much" (Costner, p. xvi). Such motives, however, do not alter the fact that Blake perpetuated the romantic image of the Indian as an historical artifact and did not challenge the dominant ideology concerning Native Americans. In addition, the Hollywood emphasis on the past has meant that current social conditions, such as the state of Indian reservations, has rarely been part of Hollywood films. The film's emphasis on the romantic past, its conventional story line, and Costner's preeminent position as star ensures that, in ideological terms, the natives in *Dances With Wolves* remain marginal characters, a colorful backdrop to the story of Lt. John Dunbar. This ideology is reinforced in the movie's final scene, when Dunbar and Stands With a Fist depart from the Sioux. Although Dunbar's leaving is explained as a way to keep the Sioux village safe from the soldiers looking for a traitor, their departure allows Dunbar and his white companion to return to civilization and escape the fate of the Indians, who have no escape.

The 1991 Canadian-Australian movie *Black Robe* also treated Indians as historical characters. In contrast to *Dances,* however, *Black Robe* provided an unromanticized view of the past. Directed by the Bruce Beresford, the Australian director best known for *Tender Mercies* and *Driving Miss Daisy, Black Robe* tells the story of French Jesuits among the Algonquin in Quebec in 1634. Father LaForge, the story's main character, undertakes a journey with a band of Algonquin in order to spread God's word among new tribes to the west. Along the way, however, it becomes clear that his Algonquin protectors, though nominally Christian, have grave doubts about his religion. In fact, the movie's main focus is on the Indians' profound indifference to Christianity and the contrast between the priest's ambitions and natural and native forces of the Canadian wilderness, a contrast that finally shakes the faith of the devoted Father LaForge.

By concentrating on such subtle matters, Beresford succeeds in providing some insight into a complex aspect of native consciousness, no small feat by Hollywood standards. Some reviewers recognized the movie's success; *Time* put the movie on its "Top Ten" list for 1991 and *Newsday* praised it over *Dances With Wolves.* It is notable, however, that this film was not a box office hit nor did it significant acclaim with the public. This can be best explained, perhaps, in the nature of the story, which is small, dark, and subtle. More importantly, the movie offers none of the classic romance expected in an Indian story. In contrast to *Dances, Black Robe* has no sweeping vistas, no buffalo stampedes, no spiritual Epiphanies. Instead, the movie portrays fallible human beings trudging through a bleak Canadian snowscape on a quest of dubious merit. In short, the themes and characteristics of the big Hollywood western are missing from this non-traditional, non-Hollywood Indian story. The result is a deeper, and more wide-ranging native image that—for just those reasons—very few people cared to see.

Box office appeal, it seems clear, requires bigger heroes and much more glamour than *Black Robe* was willing to provide.

One of the few recent movies that dares to treat contemporary Indians is *Thunderheart,* an action-drama set on a Sioux reservation. As noted above, screenwriter John Fusco lived for a time in South Dakota and understood the clichés of the Hollywood Indian, a fact which comes through in his screenplay. For example, Fusco and director Michael Apted make a point of showing both the good and the bad sides of reservation life, having an FBI agent played by Sam Shepherd remark on the reservation's desperate "Third World" nature while the camera pans across a scene of dilapidated houses and cars. On a more positive theme, Fusco develops native spirituality, using humor to keep the spirituality from being excessively mystical. Finally, as noted earlier, *Thunderheart* offers both positive and negative native characters and provides them with individual motives as a way of getting Indian individuals, not mere Indian types, on the screen.

All this adds up to a movie which—in small ways—attempts to challenge the idea of the Hollywood Indian. Unlike *Dances With Wolves* and *Black Robe,* *Thunderheart* tells a story of living native people, warts and all, an improvement over most Hollywood efforts. Yet *Thunderheart,* unlike *Black Robe,* made significant concessions to Hollywood conventions. The lead character, an FBI agent who is one-eighth Indian, was portrayed by Val Kilmer, an actor with star appeal but who has no native ties. Like the producers of *The Dark Wind,* Fusco rationalized this casting decision, noting that Kilmer's presence would "result in more exposure for this film. That's what Native Americans working on this project want" (Lew, 1990, p. 19H). Indeed, the film achieved modest box office success, certainly making a more popular splash than *Black Robe*. A Native American critic, however, described Kilmer's role as "an Indian FBI agent (a cross between Mike Hammer and Tonto) who saves his backward brethren..." (Churchill, 1991, p. 76). If *Thunderheart* was not a fully satisfactory reconstruction of the Hollywood Indian, it still represented one of Hollywood's strongest recent efforts tell a contemporary and "realistic" native story while never losing sight of box office realities.

A Question of Power

Movies about Indians, like all Hollywood productions, are designed to make money. This fact helps explain the stability of the Hollywood Indian: film makers have been reluctant to make fundamental changes to formulas which have demonstrated box office success. As *Dances With Wolves* has shown, the public is still enamored of the American West and the Noble Savage. Less romantic Indian movies, such as the non-Hollywood production *Black Robe*, remained largely unseen. Thus the new Hollywood Indian, like the old, has been restrained by Hollywood's desire to tell stories more romantic than true.

Nevertheless, renewed public interest in Native Americans in the last ten years has helped promote changes to the old Indian stereotype. Film makers have made good-faith efforts to avoid the excesses of the past and offer more sensitive and thoughtful treatments of Indians and their cultures. That being said, these advances have not addressed the fundamental structure of racial ideology and practices that underlie Hollywood's movie-making process. Indian stories still focus on Native Americans largely from a white point of view, leaving the native view largely outside the dominant ideology. The new Hollywood Indian, then, is not substantially different from the old. Native actors, historical accuracy and sympathetic characters are not the same as the power to promote stars, control stories and produce movies from a native point of view.

Ultimately, the Hollywood Indian will change only when Native Americans attain such power, a power only recently realized by African-American directors such as Spike Lee, Robert Townsend, Mario Van Peebles. No Native Americans have achieved this status.

No one now believes that Indians are more than marginal in the high-powered world of Hollywood movie makers. Indian activist Russell Means, a co-star with Wes Studi in *The Last of the Mohicans*, has recognized this. "As soon as Wes Studi gets the Academy Award as Best Supporting Actor, which he deserves," Means said, "then we'll know that we're on our way to better things for American Indians" (King, 1992, p. H1). Several months later, the 1992 nominations for Academy Awards were announced. Studi was not among them.

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If it weren't for bad luck....
A study of the ways the major newspapers frame stories of racially comparative risk.

Oscar H. Gandy, Jr.*
Professor of Communication
Annenberg School for Communication
University of Pennsylvania
215-898-7030
FOG@ASC.UPENN.EDU

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the ways in which the major newspapers in the United States framed stories about racially comparative risk. These stories about the disparities between whites and blacks differed in terms of the framing of the story as being about disparity and discrimination, as well as in emphasizing the high probability of black loss, versus the high probability of white gain or success.

Critical structural influences on the framing of the story included the nature of the source, including the wire services that provided the initial story, as well as the proportion of African Americans in the newspaper's market. newspapers tended overwhelmingly to frame stories in terms of the high probability of black loss, and this tendency was strongest in markets with the greatest black presence.

If it weren't for bad luck...A study of the ways the major American newspapers frame stories of comparative risk.

Introduction

People know that there is risk and danger in the world, but they believe that they are relatively safe. They know that there are threats to privacy, even though they tend not to believe that they have been personally victimized. They believe that politicians are generally dishonest, but they are convinced that their own representative is somehow different. They know that people are cheated every day by conmen and crooks, but somehow they have managed to avoid being tricked themselves. They know that there are all kinds of discrimination, but they have generally been treated fairly. How can it be that people are aware of and share a general sense of concern about threats in their environment, even though they have not been victims themselves?

The primary answer is that people increasingly trust and indeed rely upon others to define the world outside their immediate experience. Robert Stallings (1990) suggests that "the reality of risks for most of us exists mainly in images created by others"(p. 81). Although our friends, and our social and professional contacts may be important sources of risk perceptions, for the bulk of risks that operate outside the boundaries of common everyday experience, the evidence is clear that we depend upon information provided by the press.

Because the press plays such a critical role in determining how we understand the risk we face, and because this understanding is a fundamental part of other decisions we make about education, work, recreation, investment and other aspects of life involving risk, it is important for us to study how well, or how poorly the press informs us about those risks.

Racism and the risk of discrimination

The literature on the communication of risk has traditionally been concerned with technological risk. The environmental movement has helped to increase the level of public discussion about the risks to the quality of life that flow from ill-considered use of the earth's resources. The anti-nuclear movement has performed a similar function with regard to the risks associated focus our concerns upon the risks associated with unregulated manufacture and shipping of dangerous chemicals. In the context of policy debates about financing the health care system, discussion of the particular risks associated with HIV and sexual activity have taken on a particularly urgent tone within the press. Even though the risks that befall individuals as a result of their membership in a racial or ethnic group are seen by some as being of critical importance, these risks have not been granted a similar status within the risk agendas of the nation's press (Singer, E. and Endreny, P., 1993).

The risk of discrimination is real, and the consequences that flow from it are not only painful, representing genuine harms, but the reproduction of this risk across time is seen by many to actually threaten the survival of the American democracy. Andrew Hacker's recent book (1992) echoes a concern about this condition that had been expressed in an earlier report by a committee of the National Research Council (Jaynes and Williams, 1989). After noting that blacks and whites in American share a common destiny, both books express the concern that this destiny is threatened by the continued disparity in black-white status. These books are filled with pages of charts and tables that demonstrate that while progress has been made in some areas, in countless others, the gaps between whites and blacks remains unchanged, or is actually increasing.

Each day, the popular press is filled with stories about crime, and the rapid decline in the quality of life in the city. These stories about the problems of the urban underclass are not only about African Americans, although William Julius Wilson (1991) suggests that "to speak of the ghetto poor in the United States is to refer primarily to blacks and Hispanics" (p. 464). The link between race and poverty is strong. For many, the continued link between race and poverty is evidence of the life-structuring influence of institutionalized racism.

It is also clear, however, that the impact of racism on African Americans is not reserved for the urban poor. In a recent mass market book, Ellis Cose (1993) revealed the anger of a black elite who must contend with a dozen "demons" that deny them the pleasure of what most observers would see as the trappings of great success. The response of this "talented tenth" is not uniform however: "some have been beaten into an almost numb submission, into accepting that they will never reach the goals they once thought possible. Others have refused to accept that being black means being treated as a lesser human being, and they respond to each insult with furious indignation" (p. 13). To the extent that the press serves to reproduce this anger, we might come to share Cose's concern that black youth with the same potential to succeed will be discouraged by the news, and will thereby refuse to make a what seems like a useless effort.

We should be clear that communication about the risk of discrimination is not only important for blacks or other victims of discrimination. Because discrimination generally refers to an activity which is experienced in an institutional context, and is thereby a valid target for a public policy response, other citizens who are concerned about either the consequences that flow from continued discrimination, or who are concerned about fundamental questions of justice and equality, have a need to be well informed about this risk.

Race, risk and the press

The ways in which the press helps us understand the risk of discrimination is complicated because of the ways in which the press had traditionally covered race from outside the frame of risk. Racism, and the ways it has been covered by the press has been studied by a small community of devoted scholars who have attempted to note changes in both racism and in its representation over time. Teun van Dijk has written extensively on the role of the press in the reproduction of racism (van Dijk, 19910). His microanalysis of press coverage provides numerous examples of the ways in which editorial decisions are likely to produce different impressions of the nature, cause, and consequences of institutional practices. The ways that stories about African Americans are framed is primarily seen to influence how non-blacks feel about the demands that blacks make for equality, fair play, or on occasion, a special affirmative advantage.

We see in Robert Entman's writing on the construct of modern racism (1990) that news reporting, especially crime reporting on television might contribute to mainstream resistance to the political demands of African Americans because the news presents blacks as particularly threatening. Although they were unable to establish the direction of causality, Nadeau, Neimi, and Levine (1993) found a strong correlation between perceived threat and estimates of the size of the minority group populations that were seen as particularly threatening. These misperceptions of size and scope are reflected in distorted awareness of the nature and extent of crime, unemployment, and other socioeconomic conditions that are fundamentally linked to public policy debates.

Framing and its consequences

Within the expanding literature on press performance, there is an increased emphasis on the ways in which stories are framed, or positioned. The literature suggests that framing plays a critical role in determining how social reality is understood, including who might be to blame, or should be held responsible for correcting any problems. Dianne Rucinski (1992) refers to the tendency of the media to "focus on individual actors and human interest angles rather than institutional factors or structural relationships when describing political phenomena and social issues" as "personalized bias" (Rucinski, 1992, p. 91). Her review of the somewhat underdeveloped literature in this area suggests that the influence of this apparent bias affects the salience of issues, as in the construct of agenda setting, as well as producing influence over how causes and solutions of social problems come to be preferred. Although he doesn't use the term bias, Shanto Iyengar (1991) suggests that differences as subtle as the use of episodic rather than thematic frames can influence how people understand public issues. In studies of television, Iyengar notes that television news tends to favor episodic framing because "episodic reports make 'good pictures,' while thematic reports feature 'talking heads'"(p. 14). He notes, however, that there is a slight tendency for television coverage of racial inequality to use more thematic than episodic framing, although in stories that focused on poverty or economic inequality, episodic frames were relatively more prominent. Experimental studies demonstrate that thematic frames generate more comments on institutional responsibility. Unfortunately, at least in terms of the consequences for social policy, the anger that respondents felt after viewing thematic stories was directed toward the government for its pursuit of policies that showed favoritism toward blacks.Iyengar's findings underscore the concerns expressed by Entman (1990) about the tendency of the news to represent black politicians as being especially committed to the politics of special interest.

Whether the dominant frame is episodic or thematic, there remains a common tendency within investigative reports to identify someone to blame. David Protess and his colleagues (Protess, et al, 1991) refer to investigative reporting in general as a "journalism of outrage." They suggest that "investigative journalists intend to provoke outrage in their reports of malfeasance. The work of an investigative reporter is validated when citizens respond by demanding change from their leaders"(p. 5). A preliminary examination of documents for 30 investigative stories about race that been entered into competitions for professional awards (Investigative Reporters and Editors) supports this claim, in that nearly all the submissions included evidence of changes in policy and practice as outcomes flowing from their investigations. In general then, investigative stories follow an underlying script reflecting a shared vision of the world (Ettema and Glasser, 1987; Ettema and Glasser, 1988; Glasser and Ettema, 1989). There must be a victim, or more likely hundreds of victims, who have been harmed by the targets of the investigation, the villains who have to be brought to justice because they "have deviated from societal standards of conduct" (Protess, et al, 1991, p. 9).

Not all observers share the assumptions underling the modern social responsibility theory of the press (McQuail, 1992). Some suggest that the effort to mobilize public opinion in support of public policy goals introduces an interpretive form of reporting that paradoxically threatens the democratic process by placing the press between the citizen and the public official or political candidate (Entman, 1989; Patterson, 1993). However, the consequences of such intervention on public opinion are quite difficult to gauge, because as John Zaller(1992) argues, the attitude reports that people make, and that pollsters report as public opinion, are greatly influenced by momentarily salient factors.

There are still other analytical difficulties. Students of the press tend to think of the audience as a homogeneous group (Protess and McCombs, 1991), although the literature on media effects is filled with examples of differences in reception, including differences associated with race, class, and gender (Atkin, Greenberg and McDermott, 1983; Gandy, and Matabane, 1989). Indeed Entman (1993) suggests that the notion of framing itself "implies that the frame has a common effect on large portions of the receiving audience, though it is not likely to have a universal effect on all" (p. 54). Differences in response may be due in part to differences in the extent to which the public identifies with the victims in investigative reports. If either the victims or the villains are representative of some subpopulation, as may be identified by race, class, or sexual orientation, we would expect to find differences within the general audience in their attention, understanding, and emotional response to any reported malfeasance.

We cannot claim that press reports are the dominant force shaping public understanding of the risk of discrimination. Clearly personal experience is the most powerful teacher, and the most reliable source of information. Cold statistics are not by themselves nearly as compelling as a recent personal experience. Indeed, as Cose(1993) suggests, "in the real world, such statistics are almost irrelevant, for rage does not flow from dry numerical analyses of discrimination or from professional prospects projected on a statistician's screen. It flows from the felt experiences of everyday life, from lessons learned in run-of-the-mill human encounters, from the struggles and disappointments of family members and peers"(p. 40). Yet, the role of the mass media in the social construction of risk ought not be ignored, for the evidence that the press plays a critical role, especially for those whose personal experience is limited, is substantial and quite well known (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli, 1994). If we grant that the mass media have, and will continue to play an important role in determining how people understand and think about risk and its distribution in society, and further, if we believe that this influence reflects differences in the ways that this information is framed, then we need not hesitate any further in exploring how this role is played.

Framing and the Communication of Risk

Even entertainment media have been identified as important sources of information that individuals use in estimating the nature of risk in their environment. The visibility of the Cultural Indicators Project (Gerbner, 1973) and the importance of its contribution to the study of media and cultivation (Signorielli and Morgan, 1990) was due in no small part to its early association with public concerns about the risk of violence. Initial conceptions of a "mean world," and the association of heavy television viewing with expressions of fear and mistrust served to underscore the relationship between media representations of risk in the environment and people's understanding of their options. Functionalist theories of the press continue to emphasize the importance of the mass media's surveillance of risks in the environment (McQuail, 1992; Wright, 1960).

The literature on the communication of risk is quite extensive, although as we have noted, this literature is deficient in two ways that are important for this study: 1) racial comparisons are rare, and 2) the risks that matter are primarily technological, rather than social (Liss, 1989). This narrowness of this vision is similar to that which characterizes the literature of crime and victimization (Elias, 1986). Yet this literature does provide us with a basis for examining the ways in which risk is framed and understood.

Understanding risk and probability

There is a tendency to report facts of the past in terms of probability. This tendency is well ingrained in everyday speech, and therefore this tendency is generally unquestioned in day to day decisions about how to report the findings of statistical research. Often we make an actuarial assumption that relationships that have been noted in the past, and are reflected in comparisons of relative frequency, or rates, are actually predictions about outcomes in the future. That relationship is expressed in some detail and with some precision, as though the relation between the past and the future were fully determined, as long as the linkage is presented in probabilistic terms: "Among those aged thirty-five to fifty-four, who have five or more years of college, it turns out that black men are twice as likely to be separated or divorced" (Hacker, 1992, p. 75). Although this quote is expressly limited to historical data, the use of the language of probability in this way contributes to the spread of the actuarial assumption regarding life chances. When we observe, for example, that a higher proportion of black men than white men have died before the age of 25, then we don't hesitate to say "black men are more likely to die young."

Statements about the probability of negative outcomes are commonly understood as statements about risk. When those statements are about the differences whites and blacks are likely to experience, we are making assessments of comparative risk. As we have suggested, understanding statistical representations in the context of communication about risk is important because of the role that risk assessment plays in a variety of decisions an individual makes each day. Cognitive scientists examining decisionmaking under uncertainty develop elaborate models that proport to identify the rational choices that individuals would make once they have produced the appropriate subjective estimates of outcomes and values. The fact that subjective estimates are based upon rather unreliable sources of information is only more recently coming to be considered (Kahneman and Tversky, 1986).

Frequently when an example is needed to help an audience understand how framing operates to influence how individuals understand outcomes which are risky or uncertain, theorists turn to the classic experiment by Kahneman and Tversky (1986). Allow me to present the options precisely as they have been reported by Tversky and Kahneman (1990)[proportions in brackets indicate the proportion of respondents choosing that option]:

> Imagine that the U.S. is preparing for the outbreak of an unusual Asian disease, which is expected to kill 600. Two alternative programs to combat the disease have been proposed. Assume that the exact scientific estimates of the consequences of the programs are as follows:
>
> If program A is adopted, 200 people will be saved. [72%]
>
> If program B is adopted, there is a 1/3 probability that 600 people will be saved, and 2/3 probability that no people will be saved. [28%]

The majority have chosen in a way that reflects an aversion to risk. They find the certain prospect of saving 200 lives is more attractive than a risk prospect with an equal expected value of 200.

> In the experiments, a second group of respondents is given the same cover story [disease expected to kill 600 if we do nothing] and there are two choices:
>
> If program C is adopted, 400 people will die. [22%]
>
> If program D is adopted, there is a 1/3 probability that nobody will die, and 2/3 probability that 600 people will die. [78%]

The reversal in proportions, 72 Vs 28%, and 22 Vs 78%, suggests that people become risk avoiding in the context of lives being saved, and they become risk seeking in the context of almost certain loss of life. This framing effect is quite robust. It has been demonstrated with numerically sophisticated audiences, it even works when the same audience is presented with the two treatments, one after the other.

A point I want to make about this example in particular, although there are now dozens available that underscore the power of subtle differences in framing...this is a study which indicates a policy preference [for the United States]...which we ought to see as distinct from a personal preference to seek or avoid risk. It might be framed more explicitly to define the victims, or potential victims as being socially and economically distant...people in some other country, and the reponses might differ (North Korea, versus, Somalia, or Ireland, for example).

But, I also wish to suggest that the extent to which the these preferences may be shifted would be seen to vary substantially if the victims were also identified by race, class, or gender and further that we would find still other significant differences if the respondents' answers were compared by race, gender, or social class, rather than being reported as an overall percentage. That is, I am certain that whites and blacks would reveal different preferences that could be manipulated quite successfully by changing the racial identification of the supposed victims. We already know that whites and blacks differ substantially in terms of their belief that there is discrimination in lending, in housing, in education, in marketing. They also differ to a lesser extent in terms of who they blame, and perhaps in what they think ought to be done about it (Sigleman and Welch, 1991; Williams, 1992).

While we might claim, or express the hope that the personal characteristics of victims or perpetrators doesn't influence our feelings or our ultimate decisions regarding race, there is considerable evidence to the contrary. Racism is a primary, but by no means the only name for such and influence.

As Tversky and Kahneman remind us in other reported studies (1990), these and other subtle framing differences generate substantial variance in expressed preference for, or willingness to accept the actions of others. Whether a monetary charge is identified as a tax, or a discount, a credit or a fee greatly influences the way we feel about its payment or its loss, even though the amount is precisely the same. Indeed, even the value of the raise we last received is seen to shrink upon hearing about the more substantial raises our colleagues have received.

Stories about race and risk, are therefore likely to produce quite different levels of awareness and concern depending upon the ways in which they are framed. One story that was reported fairly widely in 1993 was a report that African-American's were more likely to be laid off in the most recent recession. The facts might have been something to the effect that among the major firms reporting, blacks had a 1 in 10 chance of being laid off, while whites had a 1 in 25 chance of being laid off. This fact of comparative risk might have been presented in one of four ways that emphasized this outcome in probabilistic terms:

1) Blacks were more likely (than whites) to be laid off [high probability of black loss]

2) Blacks were less likely (than whites) to keep their jobs [low probability of black gain]

3) Whites were less likely (than blacks) to be laid off [low probability of white loss]

4) Whites were more likely (than blacks) to keep their jobs [high probability of white gain].

In the same way that differences in outcome preferences were produced by emphasizing lives saved over lives lost, by taking advantage of the tendency to seek risk so as to avoid a more certain loss, we can see that estimates of the severity of the last recession might be influenced by which of those representations were presented. But as we have also suggested, it is likely that these estimates will vary with the race (and extent of racial identification) of the readers of stories framed in this way.

Numbers, nuance and social structure

Ulrich Beck (1992) suggests that inequality has lost much of its significance as an issue over the past two decades. In its place we have seen a "process of individualization." Social problems are no longer considered to be experienced by classes or groups but increasingly they are "perceived in terms of psychological dispositions: as personal inadequacies, guilt feelings, anxieties, conflicts, and neuroses" (p. 100). Yet, we still understand risk in terms of groups. How we understand, and what we feel about groups at risk may be influenced greatly by what has been said by the press about these groups and this class of risks.

Because most of us live in cities where there is only a single daily newspaper, we are likely to be presented with only one framing of this issue at a time. It may also be the case that because of the operation of professional standards and other structural influences we are exposed to similar framings of these risks over time. Thus, we might find that differences in political awareness and concern generally reflect the insights of Tichenor, Olien and Donohue (1987), who suggest that what you know depends largely upon where you live. In their development of a research program geared toward understanding gaps in public affairs knowledge that were consistently linked with educational attainment, Tichenor and his colleagues paid considerable attention to what they referred to as "structural factors" that might influence the quality of information that was available in different newspaper markets. In their view, "differences in media structure, as an aspect of total community structure, appear to have considerable impact on levels of knowledge about public affairs" (Olien, Donohue and Tichenor, 1983, p. 459). Cecilie Gaziano (1984) found these gaps in public affairs knowledge to vary with readership of the neighborhood newspapers that she suggests "often address the concerns of the disadvantaged in their reporting of local public affairs issues" (p. 556).

Structural influences thought to determine media content also include the nature of ownership, competition within the marketplace, and increasingly, the perceived importance of segments of the readership to particular advertisers (Baker, 1994; Olien, Tichenor, and Donohue, 1988; Picard, McCombs, Winter and Lacy, 1988). This paper presents some preliminary insights into the influence of structural factors on the framing of racially comparative risk.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided the design of the study:

1) What patterns characterize the representation of social risks that are experienced by African Americans?

2) Do these risks have a special character when they are presented in comparative terms?

3) What structural influences are involved in the determination of different frames or approaches to stories about the nature of social risks faced by African Americans?

Design

Using the "Major Papers" database within the DIALOG system, a search was made to identify all the stories published in those papers between January, 1992 and September, 1993 in which the word "black"occurred within ten words of the terms "more likely" or "less likely." Using "white" as a searching term generated few unduplicated stories , but produced far more items that were unrelated to racial comparisons of risk.

Many of the stories that were identified by this selection strategy involved activities in which there was no victimization; that is, individuals had either placed themselves at risk by engaging in some risky behavior (unprotected sex, smoking, etc.), or faced a higher risk because of factors beyond their control (genetic predisposition, poverty, etc.). Such risks were not explored in this initial study because they differed from the class of risks that had been generated or assigned by the discriminatory actions of individuals in organizations.

Murray Edelman(1983) suggests that we ought to focus our attention on the institutions and administrative decisions that are repeated daily and that combine to produce and reproduce the inequalities that we see reflected in statistical comparisons. He suggests that "thousands of such actions occur every day at every level of government, most of them unnoticed by the press, few of them [are] discussed, debated, or known outside the enclaves of professionals, corporate managers, technicians, and interest-group representatives" (p. 134). With this policy focus in mind, we selected only those stories that involved decisions made by an institutionalized authority that could be seen as placing African Americans at risk.

Six categories of such stories were created :

1) Financial. This category captured stories about difficulties African Americans faced in gaining residential mortgages.

2) Health. This category captured stories about differential treatment African Americans received from health care professionals. The quality of health care is seen to vary with the race of the patient.

3) Education. This category captured stories about the differential assignment of African American youngsters to lower level/ less challenging classes and sections in schools. These are frequently stories about integrated schools with segregated classes.

4) Government Services . This category captured stories about the differential success African Americans experienced in gaining government benefits and services, such as disability payments from the Social Security Administration.

5) Criminal Justice . This category contained stories about the differential probabilities that African Americans faced as victims of crime seeking justice, or as persons charged with crimes facing trial and sentence.

6) Employment. This category captured stories about the differential probability that African Americans would be hired, promoted, or fired.

This initial sampling was used in two ways to answer the above research questions. The primary use of the stories in the "Major Papers" file was to describe the distribution of stories by subject as they were reported in 1992. This description emphasized the framing of the stories in the headlines and in the lead, or the first three paragraphs.

Because most of the stories involving the use of statistics for the presentation of comparative risk, estimates were based upon wire service accounts, they could be expected to be quite similar from paper to paper. By selecting those stories that were reproduced in at least half of the major papers, it was possible to classify the story as a major event, and utilize that fact to pursue similarities and differences in coverage in other papers in American cities.

Four stories were identified as major stories:

1) A 1992 story that indicated that blacks with similar medical conditions were less likely than whites to receive aggressive cardiac care, as with angioplasty or bypass surgery.

2) A similar story in 1993 that indicated that the racial differences in cardiac care were not explained by differences in insurance.

3) A story in 1992 that indicated that blacks with similar physical conditions were less likely than whites to be granted disability benefits.

4) Several stories related to the difficulties that blacks, relative to whites, Hispanics, and Asians faced in getting mortgages for the purchase of homes. The most important story was a report by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston that concluded that racial discrimination could not be ruled out as a factor.

The "Papers" database in DIALOG, as well as the New York Times file in the Nexis/Lexis database were used to identify all the published stories that were in some identifiable way related to these four major stories (potentially published in 54 newspapers). In addition to the stories that were either photocopied or reproduced full text from the database, information about the percentage of African Americans in the population of the metropolitan area in which the newspaper was published was gathered for each newspaper in the database. Additional identifying information included the name of the paper, the length of the article, whether or not it included pictures, graphs, tables, as well as who, including wire services, was given credit for the story.

Because the primary focus of the analysis is on the ways in which the stories are framed, the headlines and the first three paragraphs, of what the database identified as the "lead" were used in the analysis. The following variables were developed to represent the framing of stories. Nearly all viariables were dummy coded where presence=1, absence=0.

1) Actuary. Indicated whether the headline used probabilistic language, such as chance, risk, likelihood, possibility, etc. in relation to some outcome.

2) Bias. Indicates whether the headline used terms like bias, discrimination, or other terms indicating non-random differences in outcomes.

3) Blacknot. Headline indicated that blacks lose, are likely to lose, have lost, are not likely to win, etc., thereby indicating that blacks have a negative experience.

4) BNOT. A computed mean reflecting the tendency in the first three lead paragraphs to report that blacks were more likely to be losers, or be denied some benefit [The high probability of black loss].

5) BWIN. A computed mean reflecting the low probability of black success.

6) Disparit. By use of the words disparity, or gap, or inequity, etc. the headline suggests disparity between blacks and others.

7) Episodic. The lead paragraph tells a story about a time, place, person, but does not include statistics, numbers, or generalized statements.

8) Graphics. Includes table, graph, illustration or figure.

9) Length. Length of the article in words.

10) Past. Lead paragraph uses probabilistic statement framed in the past tense, as in "were much more likely."

11) Precise. Lead uses probabilistic statement at a higher level of precision, as in "20% more likely."

12) Question. Headline expresses uncertainty about the interpretation of the cause of disparate outcomes.

13) Race. By means of the use of the term race, or sharing its root, the headline frames the story as being about racial concerns.

14) Whites. Headline indicated that whites win, or are likely to win, or benefit, or more likely to have a positive experience.

15) WWIN. A computed score indicating the proportion of lead paragraphs referring on the probability of white success, specifically, the high probability of white success.

All coding was accomplished by a single coder. Aceptable levels of reliability ranging between 70 and 95% agreement were achieved after initial training. Continued improvement in reliability was presumed to follow ongoing discussion of items identified as problematic. The discussions that follow have been restricted to those items with the highest reliability.

Findings

Table One
Patterns of Risk

The probable winners and losers in phrases using more likely or less likely (N=411)

	BGAIN	BLOSE	WGAIN	WLOSE
Proportion coded=1	.088	.749	.160	.021

Table One presents an assessment of the orientation toward African American risk in the major papers in the United States. On the basis of the initial word search of the "Major Papers" and New York Times databases, we identified 411 qualifying phrases that made use of the actuarial assumption, that is, used probabilistic language to comment on risk, such as "Blacks were more likely to be denied mortgages than whites, Asians, or Hispanics." Four outcomes were considered, and for the purposes of this analysis, they were coded as being mutually exclusive. BGAIN was the low probability of black gain; BLOSE was the high probability or black loss, WGAIN was the high probability of white gain, and WLOSE was the low probability of white loss. The proportions indicate that the overwhelming tendency in these stories was to use phrases emphasizing the high probability of black loss (nearly 75% of all phrases).

Table Two presents the results of a narrower sample. The 79 stories used in this analysis involve only those stories where differences in outcome, or comparative risk can be seen as reflecting institutional decisionmaking, perhaps even institutionalized racism. We note that 40% of the headlines present the story in terms of black loss, while another 30% frame the story as one of disparity. These coding are not mutually exclusive, indeed, the correlation between these two attributes is positive (r=.16). Some 26% of the headlines framed the story as being about race, and this frame was also more likely to be framed as being about disparity (r=.29). Episodic leads were relatively rare (7%), and headlines did not usually frame stories in probabilistic terms (Actuary=9%).

Table Two

Determinants of risk framing in stories
of organizational decision making(Eta Squared, n=79)

	%N=1	Subject	Study	Credit	Wire	Paper
Variables						
Actuary	.089	.147	.033	.099	.129	.126
Bias	.278	.209	.172	.094	.048	.067
Blacknot	.405	.113	.189	.133	.091	.107
Disparit	.317	.084	.083	.074	.034	.088
Episodic	.076	.061	.120	.084	.040	.167
Graphics	.177	.092	.128	.221	.106	.264
Past	.114	.717	.247	.131	.459	.063
Precise	.291	.331	.188	.076	.221	.091
Question	.101	.044	.134	.031	.161	.128
Race	.266	.091	.064	.118	.161	.113
Whites	.051	.076	.075	.095	.079	.135
BNOT		.179	.200	.047	.067	.091
BWIN		.045	.571	.081	.018	.153
WWIN		.164	.125	.128	.348	.168

Table Two also includes assessments of the explanatory power (as measured by Eta-Squared) of five nominal or categorical variables. Knowing the subject of the story [health, finance, government services, etc.] is useful in predicting the framing of the story as being about bias or discrimination (.21), or making reference to the high probability of blacks losing (.18). Knowing the source of the data used in the story (Study) was considerably more useful in predicting whether or not the story would be framed in terms of the low probability of black success (BWIN=.57). Along those lines, knowing which wire service (Wire) was the source of the story was also helpful in predicting whether the leads would frame the story in terms of the high probability of white success (WWIN=.35).

Table Three
Risk framing in major stories(n=197)
% coded=1

Variables	Disability	Heart92	Heart93	Mortgage
Actuary	25.7	27.1	22.5	1.4
Blacknot	65.7	62.5	37.5	39.2
Bias	28.6	4.2	17.5	51.4
Disparit	17.1	54.2	47.5	31.1
Episodic	2.9	0.0	0.0	37.8
Graphics	0.0	10.4	5.0	24.3
Past	62.9	4.2	17.5	4.1
Precise	60.0	43.8	37.5	16.2
Question	22.9	4.2	22.5	14.9
Race	14.3	33.3	45.0	20.3
Whites	8.6	14.6	37.5	1.4
N=	35	48	40	74

Table Three presents the results of the analysis of the four major stories that had been identified on the basis of their being repeated in the "Major Papers" database. We note that even though the Heart92 and Heart93 stories are fundamentally about the same sort of disparity, they are framed quite differently. In 1992, there was a greater tendency to frame the story in terms of black loss than in 1993 (62% Vs 35%). There was also a greater tendency of the stories to raise doubts about the conclusions from data in 1993, than in 1992 (22% Vs 4%). We note that the use of the bias or discrimination frame was used more often in stories about mortgages (51%), and was almost never evoked in the stories about disparity in medical care published in 1992 (4%).

Table Four

The relationship between black presence in the market
and risk frames used (Pearson's r)

	Story			
Frames	Heart92	Disability	Heart93	Mortgage
Actuary	.024	.190	.011	-.124
Bias	.108	.101	-.065	.261
Blacknot	-.199	.210	-.153	.012
BNOT	.215	.272	.099	.130
BWIN	.443	-.207	.114	*
Disparit	-.112	.011	-.040	-.073
Episodic	*	.128	*	-.006
Graphics	.192	*	-.008	.011
Length	.099	.110	.071	.095
Local	-.004	-.189	.039	.064
Past	.342	.332	.076	.191
Precise	-.228	.320	.004	.179
Question	.085	-.181	-.320	.047
Race	.074	-.031	.120	-.202
Whites	.164	.001	-.177	-.079
WWIN	-.158	-.034	-.084	*

*= computation not possible

Because it is clear that different stories tend to be framed differently, Table Four presents the relationship between one possible influence, black presence in the market, measured in terms of the proportion of African Americans in the metropolitan area, and the use of particular frames in these individual stories. Here we note that in both the Heart92 and Disability story, there was a tendency in markets with a greater black presence to frame those stories in terms of the past (r=.34; r=.33). The Mortgage story was the most important of all stories in terms of the number of papers in markets that carried one or more stories about disparity in mortgage lending. It thus appears that the tendency to frame stories in terms or bias or discrimination in markets with a stronger black presence was more consistent with regard to this story than with any other (r=.26). It is also worth noting that the presence of blacks in the market was important in determining if the paper would include indications of uncertainty about the facts or conclusions about disparities in health care delivery. The fewer blacks in the market, the more likely the story would be framed in terms of uncertainty (r=-.32).

Table Five
Determinants of risk frames for major
stories combined(Eta Sq, r, N=197)

Variables	Credit	Wire	Paper	% Black (r)	% Minority (r)
Actuary	.130	.099	.194	-.022	.047
Bias	.110	.135	.354	.211	-.097
Blacknot	.057	.109	.283	-.050	.070
BNOT	.083	.240	.316	.189	.209
BWIN	.053	.181	.226	-.011	-.064
Disparit	.060	.081	.205	-.098	-.008
Episodic	.189	.214	.211	.100	-.049
Graphics	.262	.145	.258	.067	.046
Past	.089	.394	.187	.155	.057
Precise	.051	.204	.269	.013	.128
Question	.025	.052	.242	-.071	.011
Race	.048	.054	.252	-.069	.138
WWIN	.102	.180	.235	-.209	-.073
Whites	.030	.042	.199	-.078	.032

Table Five presents the results of efforts to explore other structural influences over the framing of racially comparative risk. The individual, or organization given credit for the story is not a very reliable source of knowledge about story framing. It is most useful in suggesting whether the story will have graphics or not (.26), or about whether the story will have an episodic lead (.19). There is considerably more to be gained from knowing which wire service was the source. This knowledge is useful in predicting whether the stories will be framed in terms of the past (.39), make use of an episodic lead (.21), or use a higher level of precision (.21), perhaps when framing the story in terms of the high probability of black loss (.24).

Knowledge of the paper's identity is similarly important as a predictor of characteristic frames, which includes, of course, whether they carry the story at all. The proportion of African Americans in the newspaper's market is not a very powerful predictor of framing overall, but there are several relationships worth noting.

There is a tendency, as least as regards these stories to frame the concern as being about bias or discrimination in markets where there are relatively more African Americans in the population (r=.21). Interestingly, there is a similar tendency to frame those stories in terms of things that were likely to occur in the past (r=.15). Despite the fact that leads emphasizing the high probability that whites would experience positive outcomes (WWIN) were really quite rare, we still find a clear indication that such leads tended not be used in markets where blacks were a more visible presence (r=-.21).

When we examine the correlations between frames and the proportion of minorities among professionals at these newspapers (as reported to the American Society of Newspaper Editors , Foote, 1993), we find some interesting departures. First, we should note that the proportion of minorities on staff is directly correlated with the proportion of African Americans in the market (r=.425). However, the correlation is not perfect for a great many reasons, including the fact that African Americans represent only 58% of the minorites being counted in the ASNE study.

We can see that minority presence in the organization does not operate in the same way that blacks in the marketplace seems to operate. Where the newspapers are more likely to frame stories in terms of bias when there is more of a black presence in the market (r=.21), they are less likely to do so if they have a substantial minority presence on their professional staff (r=-.097). Although both presence on staff and presence in the market are associated with a tendency to emphasize the high probability of black loss [BNOT=.19;.21], such is not the case with regard to the framing of the story as being about race. There is a tendency to avoid such framing where there is a black presence in the market, but a tendency to emphasize it when there is a minority presence on the staff [Race, -.07; .14]. Although the cofficients suggest that the pressures go in the same direction, the size of the coefficients [-.20 Vs -.07] point to a difference in terms of a preference for talking about the high probability of white success(WWIN).

Table Six

Contributions to variance in the framing of risk in major stories combined [N-187]

Multiple Regression [Betas]

	Bias	BNOT	WWIN
Wealth	.079	.034	-.068
% Minority	-.132	.182	-.042
% Black	.231	.190	-.198
R-Squared	.065	.080	.046

The final table (Six) is an effort to examine several influences simultaneously. The beta coefficients in multiple regression can be interpreted as an estimate of the relationship between an influence and a selected outcome when the influence of other measured variables is held constant statististically. These models include two market variables: the wealth of households, and the proportion of African Americans in the metropolitan area (negatively correlated with each other) and an estimate of the proportion of minorities on staff. R-Squared is interpreted much like Eta-Squared to mean the proportion of the variance in the dependent variable that is explained by the measured variance in the independent variables.

The explained variance is not high, and the coefficients are not reliable indicators because this analysis uses a small number of similar stories. However, the coefficients do tell a story. When wealth and minority staff are controlled, the most important predictor of the use of the bias or discrimination frame is the proportion of blacks in the market. Indeed, in every case, that variable is the most important predictor.

Discussion

Because the scope of this study has been limited to a relatively brief period, and has focused primarily on newspaper coverage in 1992, and further, because the number of stories that are published about the risks that African Americans face is relatively small, it would be unwise to treat these patterns as describing some fundamental tendency. Yet, these data are highly suggestive of underlying journalistic tendencies in the framing of stories about blacks at risk. It is clear that the preferred mode for discussing comparative risks for blacks is in terms of the high probability of black loss, even when logic dictates that at least three other options might be used to present the very same statistical reality. Journalists may be trained in school and on the job to emphasize failure rather than success, but there may be unfortunate negative consequences that flow from reproducing this professional bias.

These data give support to the conclusions reached by Tichenor, Donohue and Olien, that what you know is a function of where you live. Papers differ in terms of what they choose to publish with regard to black risk, and they also differ in terms of how they frame those stories. Because framing influences how those risks are understood, both in terms of magnitude or likelihood, as well as in terms of social justice or fairness, understanding what governs these differences is important for us to discover.

These preliminary data suggest that a variety of factors are involved in determining which frames are used for particular stories in particular newspaper markets. Although it is clear that different sources, including different news and wire services have identifiable tendencies when it comes to framing stories about racial disparity, the final decision is made at the level of the newspaper that chooses, sizes, places, and frames the story. The fact that the proportion of African Americans in the metropolitan area served by these papers emerges as an important predictor of coverage and framing raises critical questions about how well the press is serving its privileged functions.

It would be premature to conclude that economic self interest guides the framing of stories to reflect the importance of black readers to the bottom line of the paper. In the 54 markets studied, the presence of African American households was associated with the level of household income. The presence of blacks in the market was greatest in the poorest newspaper markets. This pattern points to a problem for editors that seek to attract black circulation in ways that do not risk white readership or advertising support. Arthur Chandler of the Los Angeles Times is quoted as suggesting that "giving more attention to minority issues 'would not make sense financially...[because] that audience does not have the purchasing power and is not responsive to the kind of advertising we carry'." (Baker, 1994). Of course the determination of editorial content is bound to be more complicated than that! Concerns about community, the level of racial conflict, and even the level of activism among African American professionals on the newspaper's staff may all intervene to influence how particular stories are framed. These are questions that ought to be pursued, and this has just been a tentative initial step.

Future studies should expand the number of years that are examined, thereby increasing the number of stories about particular issues, from particular news services, and at different moments in a newspaper's publishing history. Structural information should be expanded to include information about racial conflict within a paper's community, more detail about racial composition of newspaper's professional staff, as well as information about circulation in urban and suburban areas that might indicate the economic basis for racial sensitivity.

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The Cost of Fighting Mother Nature:
News Coverage of the 1993 Midwest Floods

by

Ana C. Garner, Ph.D.
Department of Journalism
Marquette University
Milwaukee, WI 53233
(414) 288-7383

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The Cost of Fighting Mother Nature:
News Coverage of the 1993 Midwest Floods

Abstract

This study examines the 1993 Midwest flood coverage of the New York Times, Time, Newsweek, and the Des Moines Register between July 1 and August 31, 1993. News story discourse was framed as a battle with Mother Nature which helpless individuals could not win. Within this central framework were two key themes: national and personal cost. The national media practiced domestic Afghanistanism, providing depersonalized coverage that focused primarily on national and taxpayer costs of the flood. The regional media conveyed the material loss of individuals and families in the Midwest in detailed and personalized terms. The author argues that readers look for information they can relate to their own lives. The national media provide little, if any, information of this nature and are therefore unwittingly failing to meet their readers' needs.

Fighting Mother Nature:
News Coverage of the 1993 Midwest Floods

"After all what could be more American: if you can't fight Mother Nature, at least you can make a buck off her."[1]

It began with the rains in April. Communities along the Mississippi were suddenly under water; a lot of water. Most of the world, however, remained unaware -- a small disaster among so many others (Gays in the military, Rodney King, Waco). Besides, the river soon backed down and life returned to normal. Then, the rains came back -- again and again. Noah and his Ark, God's 40 days and 40 nights, pigs on the roof tops, and people in mud. These were the images the media and people carried during the Great Flood of 1993. Friends and family from the area sent or brought personal and newspaper photos to gatherings. Hometowns and friends were underwater. Some canoed to their homes and others watched their neighbors go "crazy" because of the never-ending onslaught of water. Ironically, some took boats to work but talked of changing vacation plans -- "you can't canoe down swollen rivers." Yet, the flood was more than a great topic of conversation. People in Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Wisconsin and South Dakota lost their homes, farms, livestock, personal belongings and records. Some lost their sanity.

The Great Flood of 1993 was also more than a personal or regional disaster, it was a major news event. Time, Newsweek, and The New York Times covered it as did regional papers such as the Des Moines Register, the Saint Louis Dispatch and the Kansas City Star. For two months, between July 1 and August 31, the Midwest flood was a principal topic of discourse in the mass media. How was this discourse framed[2] by the print media? What were the underlying themes or frames used to explain the disaster to those experiencing, and those far removed from, the event? Finally, what did the discourse tell us about the economic and personal price of the flood?

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[1] Annetta Miller, "Not Everything is Underwater," Newsweek, (August 9, 1993), pp. 41.

This study addresses these questions by exploring the flood coverage of three nationally available publications (Time, Newsweek and The New York Times) and one regional publication (Des Moines Register) between July 1 and August 31, 1993. The Des Moines Register was chosen because Iowa was one of the first states to be affected by the floods and because it was also one of the hardest hit. Time, Newsweek, and the New York Times were chosen because they were readily available to those outside the Midwest. By analyzing the continuous record of this discourse, the author hopes to illuminate the central organizing frames that shaped the national and local (Iowa) public's acquaintance with the flood and its impact on the people of the Midwest. This discourse is seen as part of the interpretive packages that we encounter about disasters. Following Gamson (1989), the author argues that disaster discourse, like other discourse, has a culture in which there are competing and constantly changing packages available for interpretation. This issue culture needs to be explored across disasters and across time. The sample is used as an indicator of the packages people use to construct their interpretation of the 1993 Flood. It is not assumed that people would have read all of these publications, only that this sample was available to those who wanted to make sense of the Midwest flood through national, local and personal discourse.

The Mass Media and Disasters

Most studies on disasters and the mass media have focused on the community affected or the role the media play during the disaster (Carter, 1980; Christensen &

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[2] In this study we follow Gamson's (1988) definition of a frame: "The frame suggests what the issue is about. It answers the questions "what is the basic source of controversy or concern on this issue?"" (p. 165).

Ruch, 1978; Kreps, 1980; Medsger, 1989; Quarantelli, 1989; Raphael, 1986; Rogers & Sood, 1980). Research on disaster news discourse indicates that the media tend to be unreliable, given to over dramatization and false images (Blong, 1985; Goltz, 1984; Quarantelli, 1978, 1988; Scanlon & Frizzell, 1979; Scanlon, Luukko & Morton, 1978; Wenger, 1985; Wenger & Friedman, 1986). One example of the latter is the myth that during a disaster the public will panic or engage in antisocial behavior. Panic is a rare phenomenon and tends to happen only under certain circumstances such as those which occurred during the Coconut Grove fire (Quarantelli & Dynes, 1972; Quarantelli, 1976, 1977, 1983, 1989). Other myths, noted by Wilkins (1985, 1986), include the portrayal of a society of helpless individuals and organizations who are unable to deal with the weather, or the economic and political policies, which threaten them.

Other studies have focused on the inaccuracies and inadequacies of disaster news coverage (Scanlon, 1976; Scanlon, Luukko & Morton, 1978; Scanlon & Frizzell, 1979; Scanlon & Alldred, 1982). Inaccuracies within disaster stories are common and are found primarily in news stories that lack attribution or any source information (Scanlon et al., 1978). Scanlon and Alldred (1982), for example, found disaster news content to be distorted because of the excessive emphasis placed on the impact period. Singer and Endreny (1987) found information about associated harms to be present in hazard news stories but indications of hazard probability were not, making public assessment of potential risks difficult.

The few studies that examine underlying themes found in disaster and risk news coverage tend to focus on the frames journalists use in their news story construction (Dunwoody and Griffin, 1993; Ryan, Dunwoody & Tankard, 1991; Vincent, Crow & Davis, 1989; Weiss & Singer, 1988). Vincent, et al., for example, analyzed television journalists' accounts of plane crashes and found three overall themes: "a) the tragic intervention of fate into everyday life; b) the mystery of what caused the crash; and c) the work of legitimate authority to restore normalcy" (p. 21).

In sum, scholars of disaster news stories have focused primarily on the myths and deficiencies of the news coverage. The research has not examined the underlying discourse about the economic and material impact of disasters on individuals. Yet, such an analysis is necessary if we are to further understand the competing interpretive packages shaping disaster discourse. Derrick Jackson of the Boston Globe notes that the United States has "the privilege of defining disaster as much by material loss as by life lost" (Des Moines Register, July 23, p. 25A)[3]. Since the death toll was relatively low (less than 50), the flood of 1993 could be defined as a material loss disaster. Furthermore, Garner (1992) argues that readers of disaster news stories relate to disasters on personal terms. They focus on the individuals in the disaster, relating the stories of those affected to their own personal experiences and beliefs. Gamson (1988) notes that "people construct and modify their understanding in an active environment that is constantly offering them images and potential schemata, suggesting how an issue is to be understood and what should be done about it" (p. 171). The media can play an active role in this process. How the media frame the economic and material loss of those affected by the disaster can, in turn, influence how readers of disaster news stories interpret the disaster as event and its subsequent impact on the individuals involved.

Framework

Life and the sense we make of it is a social process; achieved through real or symbolic social interaction. This dialectical process enables us to create and understand the world in which we live. Our individual interpretations, our mental maps or frames, may vary in detail and sophistication across topics and individuals but they nonetheless allow us to know our everyday realities, including those distant from our here and now (Garner, 1992; Graber, 1988). While disasters, such as floods and earthquakes, are abstractions for most people, they become part of our common stock of knowledge though personal and shared experiences; they become part of our subjective reality. This reality is organized into "zones of relevance" which differ according to their distance from our everyday life (Adoni & Mane, 1984). Disasters, such as the 1993 Midwest flood, fall within the remote zone for most people and thus can only be known through indirect experience, such as through the news story. As Gamson & Modigliani (1989) state, "media discourse is part of the process by which individuals construct meaning" (p. 2). This does not imply however, that people rely exclusively on media images and packages to understand disasters. Their own experiences, as well as those of friends, help them to make sense of the events and issues they encounter (Gamson, 1988; Garner, 1992; Graber, 1988). Nonetheless, how media discourse is framed can influence the interpretations we make.

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[3] All the Time, Newsweek, New York Times and Des Moines Register articles cited in this paper are from the year 1993 unless otherwise noted.

Because most disasters (e.g., earthquakes, floods, airplane crashes) occur under certain conditions people tend to have a common frame of reference enabling them to understand and visualize these events (Garner, 1987, 1992). This is true for journalists as well. The way in which a situation is initially interpreted and presented by the mass media can and does form the perception that most people have of the event (Berkowitz, 1988, 1992; Garner, 1987, 1992; Tuchman, 1978). Gitlin (1980), notes that these media frames organize "the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports" (p. 7). Thus, like other forms of discourse, news stories, including disaster news stories, are social constructions of reality (Altheide, 1976; Mollotch & Lester, 1974; Tuchman, 1978)

When confronted with a disaster the press tries to organize it, routinize it, make it appear within the realm of the normal (Berkowitz, 1992; Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978). They take the unpredicted, unstructured event and try to give it structure; to re-establish order. Indeed, the press can be expected to behave in a predictable pattern during times of disasters (Scanlon, 1982) and this behavior can be found within the organizational nature of news (Berkowitz, 1992; Fishman, 1980; Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978).

Tuchman (1973) focuses on this aspect of news and gives but brief attention to the issue of unscheduled events like disasters. Nonetheless, her work is also informative for our thinking. She notes that when the media encounter an "unscheduled" news event, like a disaster, it is moved from unscheduled status to developing news status via the use of typification (Tuchman, 1973). This means the disaster, as event, is reported within a predictable story framework of setting, actors and plot(s) (Berger, 1982; Bird & Dardenne, 1988; Tuchman, 1978). "Media discourse can be conceived as a set of interpretive packages that give meaning to an issue. A package has an internal structure. At its core is a central organizing idea, or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 3) . As observed by Berkowitz (1992) "news workers typify stories to facilitate coverage of their news...[and a disaster] story is one of the kinds of stories for which journalists mentally rehearse and build a "story template" (p. 45). This process results in similar coverage across disasters as well as similar story frames (Berkowitz, 1992; Tuchman, 1978; Vincent, et al., 1989).

Research has also shown that disaster coverage and disaster themes are tied together and parallel the three main stages of disaster newswork (Berkowitz, 1992; Larson, 1980; Sood, Stockdale & Rogers, 1987; Vincent et al., 1989). Ironically, these stages also parallel the stages of a disaster itself. The first stage of disaster newswork can be said to be a period of chaos wherein news workers face a shortage of information, time and available personnel. The main story theme or frame during this period is of the tragic disruption of everyday life. The chaos period gradually shifts to one of stabilization, where information is more abundant and relevant officials, instead of eyewitnesses, become key sources of information. The work is more stable, but not routine, and story themes revolve around the mystery of the event and alternative explanations. Finally, during the third stage, newswork is more manageable and more routinized. Story themes begin to focus on a return to normalcy and a restoration of order.

In a television news study Berkowitz (1986, 1992) was able to observe these stages and the organization's response to an "unscheduled" news event, when an Air Force jet crashed into an airport-area hotel. He notes that these stages unfold over several days and that the story themes are not sequential but overlap during the days after the disaster. He also states that while the work routine used to cover the disaster was similar to the everyday newswork routine, there was "one key difference: It required much greater reliance on typification of story elements" (1992, p. 52).

Walters, Wilkins and Walters (1989) argue that because some disasters are hidden within a complex system, the events are hard to capture in their raw form. In an effort to explain the difficult, the media break it down into simple explanations which lack social, political or technological context (Altheide, 1976). In addition, "news sometimes uses symbols as the representation of reality and presents them as the products of forces outside human control" (Tuchman, 1978, p. 213). During the Three Mile Island incident CBS, for example, presented technological danger within a "nightly warning, nightly explanation" format whereas ABC presented a fable of a threatening nightmare that the elite could not handle (Nimmo, 1984). Disaster events, therefore, are presented as "alien, reified forces, akin to fluctuations in the weather ... affirm[ing] that the individual is powerless to battle the forces of nature or the forces of the economy" (Tuchman, 1978, p. 214).

Finally, disasters threaten our social order and the news value of maintaining, ensuring, or reaffirming our social order is at play in disaster news stories (Cohen & Young, 1981; Gans, 1979). Embedded within this frame are issues of morality or morality plays (Gans 1980; Cohen & Young, 1981). These acts are framed with a view of what is expected and normal and show that events are always returning to normal and villains, in the end, are always punished. Thus, "the news does not limit itself to reality judgments; it also contains values, or preference statements. This in turn makes it possible to suggest that there is, underlying the news, a picture of a nation and society as it ought to be" (Gans, 1979, p. 39). These media packages, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) argue, have an advantage because they "resonate with cultural narrations, that is, with the stories, myths, and folk tales that are part and parcel of one's cultural heritage" (p. 5).

This study hopes to illuminate the central organizing frames and underlying themes used by Time, Newsweek, the New York Times and the Des Moines Register in their coverage of the 1993 Midwest flood. It will also expand previous research by focusing on the economic and personal impact of the flood, an area not previously addressed by disaster scholars. By so doing, our understanding of the media discourse on disasters would be extended as would the process used to produce and modify the competing packages that are available in this culture.

The Great Flood

If one thing can be said about the news coverage of this disaster it is that it resembled, in part, the coverage the American media gives to disasters outside the United States. Domestic Afghanistanism, to quote a colleague of mine. Studies of international coverage of disaster news reveal that unless many hundreds are killed and the country has some relation to the United States and its citizens (e.g., it is popular with U.S. tourists), the disaster will receive very little, if any, coverage by the U.S. media (Adams, 1986). While the national media did cover the Midwest flood, the amount of attention and the nature of the coverage revealed that the further away (geographically) the media was the more depersonalized it's coverage.

The study revealed that the central organizing frame of all the flood discourse was a fight with Mother Nature. Within that overall frame were several subthemes, the main ones being: national and personal cost. As will be illustrated below, the national media's discourse was primarily framed in billions of dollars, thousands of acres and the U.S. economy. All of which are certainly the facts, but to none of which the average citizen can relate on a personal level. Stories focusing on the flood's impact on individuals were rare in the national coverage, making it difficult for the average reader to understand and relate to those affected. The local media, in comparison, contained many such stories, providing its readers with a sense of community and a way to cope with the events they faced on a daily basis. After all, it is a comfort to know that there are others who are fighting the same war and losing the battle.

Fighting Mother Nature

Unlike earthquakes or airplane crashes which suddenly "happen" with little or no warning; and then suddenly end, the Great Flood of 1993 came about slowly and lasted a long time. There were no omens, no premonitions, no forecasts. In many ways, it was like a death watch where you see life ebb away and there is nothing you can do about it. In Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Wisconsin, Illinois, and South Dakota people first watched the land get wetter and the rivers get higher. They fought back with sandbags and prayers. But the levees and dams soon broke and the lives of many were ruined or ended. According to some, it was like watching your life slowly wash away in a sea of water, mud and sewage.

> "The usual conception of floods is of raging waters, like a dam bursting. But really big floods, like on the Mississippi, are far more insidious. The damage doesn't come from roaring walls of water, it comes from quiet backwaters that spread amoebae-like, creeping higher and higher ever so gently - gently and inexorably. sometimes nature is terrifying in its fury, sometimes in its relentlessness." (Des Moines Register, July 3, p. 6A).

That the Great Flood of 1993 was a battle with Mother Nature was soon apparent to the reader. Siege, assault, battle, deluge, plague, menace, monster, hostage, warriors, draftees, military missions, Hell, act of God. These lexical choices served to convey the flood as a war that the citizens of the Midwest were waging against nature. Time called it a "Season in Hell" (July 19) and later "one of the all-time monsters" (July 26). The New York Times depicted the battle as the "siege of Midwest floods" (July 12). The Des Moines Register, noted that Iowans were waging a war on the floods (July 7) and that thousands had become draftees in the war on rising waters. Newsweek noted repeatedly that one should never underestimate the power of nature: "The Great Flood of '93 rolled inexorably down the Mississippi, teaching everyone, even television anchormen--never to underestimate nature" (July 26, p. 21).

Throughout the summer, this theme was repeated over and over as more and more land went under water. Towns and cities were depicted as bracing for more rain, or facing the worst natural disaster in their histories, or as having quite a fight on their hands. These propositions were supported by images of people sandbagging levees, shoveling mud, moving personal possessions to upper floors or higher ground and statements such as "victory was far from at hand" (Des Moines Register, July 7). As is true with such depictions of war, these scenes were juxtaposed with those which showed that the warriors could "not hope to stop the rising river"

(New York Times, July 8), or that Iowans were waging a "futile battle against rivers" (Des Moines Register, July 11).

Finally, throughout this discourse was the battle of the human spirit reconfirming Wilkins' (1985, 1986) observation that disaster news includes a portrayal of helpless individuals unable to deal with the weather. News stories talked about feelings of powerlessness against the fury of the Mississippi, Missouri, Iowa, and Raccoon rivers; of weathermen unable to predict an end to the rains; of engineers unable to control the flooding and of people helplessly watching their homes be slowly consumed. "There is nothing anyone can do...people sandbagged like crazy and they still lost the war" (New York Times, July 11, p. 18A). While all the media noted the flooding was beginning to wear spirits down and make people frustrated, depressed and crabby, only the Des Moines Register made it clear that this was due to repeated flooding and destruction along many rivers and not just the Mississippi. Readers of only the national media could up believing that only those communities along the Mississippi were affected, that most flood victims were unable to deal with the disaster (emotionally or physically) and that the disaster didn't ultimately affect anyone beyond the Mississippi river.

It is ironic then, that against the backdrop of helplessness was the portrayal of hope and humor. The national media told of people accepting the Mississippi river and calling it an "old friend." It showed stoic citizens preparing to clean up and start their lives afresh. This theme was supported by quotes such as: "Isn't the flood a challenge? I lost but I'll win next year" (New York Times, July 13, p. 17A). Humor was found on The Des Moines Register's Opinion page when it ran replies to it's "It's so wet that..." contest begun earlier in the summer. "It's so wet that: "we had to put scuba gear on the pigs" or "mildew became the state flower" (July 14, p. 22A).

The Cost

Within the Mother Nature frame there was another theme: that of cost. How much the "war" was going to cost the American people, and the flood's affect on the average American, was the primary focus of the national media. The Des Moines Register briefly addressed these issues but its primary focus was on the cost to Iowans and Iowa communities, livestock and history.

The National Cost

In the beginning, the national media noted that Mother Nature was costing barge companies millions of dollars in losses. This was a "Billion-Dollar Flood" which would possibly raise future prices and might cause barge companies to go under due to the cost of waiting the flood out. Mother Nature was also depicted as harassing small towns and farmers along the Mississippi but repeatedly the losses to the barge companies were noted as mounting at the rate of one million dollars a day. The flooding was "beginning to 'devastate' the region's economy" and by July's end damage estimates for farms were raised to one billion dollars. Discourse focusing on the huge cost to the government and the taxpayers also increased as time passed. Unimaginable figures conveying the enormity of the situation were often cited: 800 million dollars in insured losses, $1.2 billion pledged in emergency funds, $1 billion in property damage, $2.5 billion in aid, $12 billion in farm and property losses, 50,000 people homeless. These were the facts, to be sure, but figures this large are impersonal and difficult for the average person to relate to in any meaningful way.

The national media were also the first to "ring the bell" that the effects of the flood might not be "all that bad" and that bell was rung often. The New York Times noted on July 8 that the flood would not significantly increase consumer food prices. On July 14 the theme was repeated when it noted that the U.S. economy was too vast to be hurt by the flooding. This subtheme of "it could be worse" was repeated throughout the two months but was especially strong during August. "Resilient," "losses only a small part of the state economy," the "regions gross domestic product will rise," and the "revenues are not lost forever" were just some of the lexical phrases that helped convey the sense that the flood was not as bad in the long term as it may have looked. During the week of August 9, for example, Newsweek's headline noted that "Mother Nature has been cruel; but the economy may suffer less than expected." The story began by stating that "you saw it on TV" (it being Davenport, Iowa under water). It then revealed that you didn't get the whole picture -- that you didn't see the "97 percent of Davenport's 72 square miles that almost completely escaped the flood's vengeance. Of some 35,000 homes in the city, only 1 percent were evacuated, and just 200 of 3,700 businesses were swamped" (p. 40). To further support this theme economic experts were quoted:

> Experts point out that the true impact of natural disasters must be viewed in context. The estimated $3.5 billion in flood losses that have been projected for Iowa are only a relatively small part of the state's $55 billion economy. ...When experts look at 20 years of annual economic markers like sales-tax receipts, they often can't tell when a particular disaster occurred. ..."It's important to remember that those revenues aren't lost forever. A business that didn't sell a pair of sneakers during the flood will still be able to sell them later. (pp. 40-41)

The theme was also supported by depictions of flood victims beginning to strip out old carpeting, buy new appliances and repair their homes. This rebuilding would, in turn, help the region's gross domestic product "to rise just as it did in Florida last year after Hurricane Andrew" (p. 40). In other words, history had shown that disasters do not have a long term impact and may even be good for the economy by being a potential economic stimulus. "Siegelman says that in Iowa, one of the states hit hardest, flood repairs will boost a construction industry that was already running at full capacity. After all, what could be more American: if you can't fight Mother nature, at least you can make a buck off her" (p. 41).

The economic cost of the flood was also raised by the national media under the venue of flood insurance. Some of those affected by the flood had insurance to cover their losses but many did not. The issue of who would pay for the rebuilding was raised. What it had, and would, cost the taxpayers was a favorite secondary theme. Flood insurance was described as an undermining of a community's self reliance, money down the drain, as a federal bailout, and as an "entitlement to wealthy homeowners in America." These catch phrases help to suggest that those who were affected by the flood were relying on the public dole -- another hot topic on the agenda -- conjuring up images of welfare mothers and social programs. The New York Times on July 16 noted that the government is "both forgiving and generous" yet it also noted that it was too much of both. Readers were told that flood insurance, not the victims own ingenuity or American self reliance and self sufficiency, were being used to fight and survive the disaster. There was also a suggestion of "just deserts" in that people living on the flood plains of the Midwest were compared to people living in earthquake prone California. It was okay for them to live where they wanted but shouldn't they pay the price? Was the government encouraging people to build on the flood plains? (New York Times, July 19). Newsweek promoted the theme this way:

> In the current catastrophe, two Iowa cities demonstrate the two approaches -- we pay or they pay -- with the pungency of a parable. After the terrible flood of 1965, Dubuque decided to contribute its share (1 million) of the 12 million necessary to build a flood wall. In 1984, nearby Davenport rejected a proposed $65 million flood wall because it neither wanted to pay its third of the cost nor mar the look of its historic riverfront. Today, Dubuque is sitting pretty -- and downtown Davenport is underwater...." (July 19, p. 23).

The discourse was continued by Newsweek on July 26 and again on August 2 when it noted that flood insurance was "easy to get, even at the last minute, yet many property owners simply choose to collect federal bailout grants of up to $11,900" (p. 25). It then offered the following metaphor to support its main theme that taxpayer money was going down the drain.

> Imagine a car-insurance policy that didn't raise your rates after an accident. Or a life-insurance policy that charged the same whether your were 25 years old or 70. That's the idea behind the National Flood Insurance Program (NFIP), where property near rivers or in vulnerable coastal areas is restored by the government again and again. ...Since 1974, the NFIP has paid nearly $2 billion to 63,00 flood-damaged properties. "Taxpayers have bought some of these people refrigerators and chain saws 10 times over," says Tom Szilasi, building commissioner in St. Charles County, Mo., across the river from Grafton" (August, 2, 1993, p. 24).

In contrast, the Des Moines Register took a more positive approach, telling Iowans that while they should not expect huge amounts of grant money, most would qualify for loans (July 10). The Register later said the disaster would not have a great impact on the national economy and that the flood would be saving the USDA money. The government could actually make a profit "because crop losses are leading to higher prices, which in turn point to major declines in federal subsidies" (July 20, 1A). It also reported that many Iowans were "too proud to accept aid" (July 22, p. 1A). The Register also ran opinion pieces that were in agreement with the national papers; stating that living in a flood area should not be "a perpetual entitlement" and that some refer to the NFIP as "the "carpet renewal" policy, since they are hit with river flooding every six or seven years and use the government payments to replace water damaged carpet" (July 22, p. 27).

Most of the national discourse centered on the economic impact of the flood on the country as a whole. Huge dollar amounts where presented, making it difficult to relate to the disaster, or its victims, on a personal level. Key phrases and metaphors conjured up other images that had been on the public agenda: welfare reform, pork-barrel politics and entitlement programs. These phrases had been at the forefront of public debate for some time and served as reinforcement for the underlying theme that the flood of 1993 was another example of wasted tax dollars. By focusing primarily on the impact to the reader's pocketbook the national media conveyed a disaster that had little impact on the victims and significant impact on the readers. By the end of two months the reader of the national media would believe that the disaster affected only those along the Mississippi, that those affected were probably getting what they deserved (for living on a flood plane) and that the flood victims were ultimately like welfare mothers who rely too heavily on the public dole. The Des Moines Register also talked about the effect of the flood on the economy but it conveyed a very different image.

The Human Cost

While the national media did discuss the flood in personal terms, the amount of coverage was very scarce compared to the Des Moines Register. Conversely, while the Register did note the flood's impact on the national economy, its discourse was limited to a few articles. In addition, short of one opinion piece, the debate over flood insurance centered primarily on whether Iowans would get it and when. The U.S. House of Representatives' debate, for example, over whether other programs should be cut in order to fund aid to flood victims, was followed closely. Most of the Register's coverage, however, centered on the various communities, families and individuals who were affected by the flood.

The paper became a never-ending litany of people losing homes, businesses and family to the floods. In many ways it was as much a roller-coaster ride for the reader as it was for the victims. Each day came news of another town flooded, another river rising, another levee breaking and another dam overflowing. Each day came another story of people moving their possessions to higher floors, if not higher ground, and then fearfully evacuating their homes. They worried about the flood, their possessions and whether the flood and looters would leave them anything to which to return. The sun would come out for a day or two and the discourse moved to what became careful pleas that maybe it was finally over. But the rain would come back and the litany would begin again.

The national media tended to talk about the flood victims in general terms. The New York Times, for example, noted that the "Missouri river flooded the grave yard of a town" (August 26) and Newsweek said:

> The Mississippi doesn't sweep houses away in a rush; it fills them with mud. The residents watch the water creep up their lawns until they decide it's time to get aboard one of the National Guard trucks, or boats, and head for high ground. The optimists among them move as much as they can to the top floor, sandbag the foundation, board up the doors with plywood, seal the boards with caulking, cap the drains on lower floors to prevent sewage from backing up into the house and start a pump in the basement. The pessimists just move stuff to the top floor and open all the windows, on the assumption that the house will be flooded anyway and that at least will save them having to replace glass broken by floating debris. (July, 26, p. 24)

These descriptions certainly help to convey a sense of what it was like to be in the disaster but the generic descriptions of towns, optimists and pessimists making their own way, do not provide the reader with someone to whom they can relate. Critics may argue that this is to be expected with national coverage; that reader's in New York and New Jersey would find the detailed stories meaningless and that the editors are just doing their jobs. One needs to seriously question this assumption. Garner (1992) notes that personal stories are an important part of the sense making process for readers of disaster news stories. They look for individuals and their personal stories and compare them to their own experiences and those of people they know. In addition, these personal stories played an important role in the readers' construction of their own personal frames or schemas about disasters. In other words, readers are looking for a way to understand the event and one way they do this is through reading personal accounts.

The Des Moines Register's discourse was more personal and conveyed the losses' people experienced through stories of families and individuals evacuating and returning to the devastation. Here are just two of the many stories:

> Jeff and Pam Johnson had loaded computers and other equipment...into cars and went inside for another load. But while the couple worked feverishly inside, floodwaters swirled into the building at waist-deep levels. They quickly evacuated the building, but by the time they got outside their vehicles and all their equipment were submerged under water. "We lost everything we had in 10 minutes" Pam Johnson said. (July 11, p. 5A).
>
> The walls bearing the family photos and trophies are rotting. The carpet is a soggy brown sponge oozing mud. The stench of mildew and decay is overwhelming. A mouse scampers along the walls and disappears behind a piece of furniture. It is followed a few minutes later by another creature--something bigger and darker and creepier. It completes the pathetic picture: Wherever there's decay, rats seem to thrive. Leydens [the homeowner] says not only sewer rats, but snakes and fish, all washed in through a basement window. ...The magnitude of what happened to this modest community comes alive in the rows upon rows of ruined beds, couches, dressers, desks, TV sets and other belongings that have suddenly been rendered garbage." (July 22, 27A).

Stories such as these were supplemented with descriptions of basement walls caving in; local history museum treasures lost; Iowans loading their freezers and prized possessions into trucks; and others trying save the "sentimental stuff." Five wild bunnies and a garter snake joined an Ames family on an 'ark;' someone found ruined baby pictures and "what used to be an antique piano." But the images didn't stop there: roof shingles showed where water had lapped the roof of a new home and petroleum products in the water were said to be eating away paint and varnish. Washers, dryers and refrigerators were full of mud; houses full of garter snakes, earthworms and more mud; books, bibles and medical exams were ruined; and a

Holiday Inn dining table was seen floating around "with place settings intact." This was the litany of loss and destruction that appeared daily in the Des Moines Register.

This litany, however, was not limited to depictions of ruined homes and furniture. Picture essays showed a man fishing in a corn field, another fishing off his back porch, and another mowing his lawn to the edge of the rising flood water. People were shown wading through the water, steering boats down streets or collecting flood water so they could flush their toilets. One entire Iowa town was living in the local high school -- the only dry spot. Des Moines state employees were said to be taking a long time for a "potty break" because of the long lines at the portable toilets set up in the parking lots.

Stories appeared daily of people bathing in the rain and underneath rain spouts; of people standing in line for drinking water, hauling drinking water, saving or collecting dirty water to flush toilets, using melting ice cubes to wash dishes and going to nearby towns to do their laundry. The Register advised area residents to "pretend you're camping" and many did just that. There were also stories about fights over water. Hundreds of people reported those who turned it on too soon and the city of Des Moines threaten to fine offenders or cut their water off entirely. Stress was said to be easy to spot on the street and it was found in the stories about people sneaking past the National Guard to check on their homes, looters, scam operators, price gougers, fake Red Cross' and bogus flood survival kits for 400 and 600 dollars.

The Register also conveyed a sense of the damage and loss through "helpful hints" columns that advised residents on how to begin to get their lives back in order. Readers where told what to wear while working, how to check their houses for structural damage and how to begin removing the water and mud. Do you know what to do with all that food in your house. The Register told you what to keep, what to cook right away and what to toss. It also gave house cleaning hints: how to clean and sanitize carpets, floors, pillows, bedding, how to dry books and papers, and how to get rid of the odor, mildew, and stains on the house, furniture and clothing.

Discussions of clean up also signaled something else: the beginning of normalcy in Iowa. On July 28, the Register noted that "signs of normalcy" were returning as Des Moines and other towns and cities began clearing away the sandbags. The reservoirs were to capacity and flood warnings were beginning to drop. Picture essays showed people shoveling mud, hauling rotten rugs, beds and furniture. Community spirit was praised and thanks were given to Floridians, Minnesotans and others who came to assist in Iowa's clean-up. Normalcy, however, didn't return that quickly and throughout the month of August, the paper continued to be filled with stories of flood and devastation in Iowa, Missouri and Kansas.

The Des Moines Register's images of the devastation and material loss were far different from those of Time, Newsweek, or The New York Times. Day after day descriptions of rot, mud, lost personal histories and more depicted a disaster that was worse than anything found in the national media. One would not, and could not, expect the national media to cover the flooding to such a great extent. Nonetheless, the disparity in the coverage clearly illustrates that if one read just the national media, he or she would think that the flood was bad for the nation's economy but the personal losses were not great. The people in Iowa didn't think so.

In Conclusion

The national and personal costs of the disaster were not isolated themes within the news stories on the Great Flood of 1993. Each fed on the other and fueled the central framework: The Battle with Mother Nature. Since the beginnings of the human race, people have struggled for supremacy over nature. Whether they used fire or levees and dams, they have always tried to "win the war." The national and regional media picked up on this age old tradition and used it to frame their 1993

Midwest flood stories. Lexical choices such as siege, battle, warriors and draftees hammered home the idea that this was not simply bad weather. This was war. This choice of metaphor by the media is not surprising. After all, conflict is a basic news value. The problem with its usage lies in it's over simplification of a complex problem and the corresponding presentation of the problem as beyond the control of anyone and everyone. It helps to frame the flood and the subsequent damage as the result of Mother Nature run amuck, not as the result of poor planning in urban development and flood control -- two items humans can ideally control and can ultimately take responsibility. In other words, the use of the war with Mother Nature metaphor helps perpetuate portrayal of a society of helpless individuals and organizations who are unable to deal with things that threaten them.

The national and personal cost theme reframed the battle with Mother Nature in yet another way. The national media addressed the disaster in terms of cost to the nation and to the individual taxpayers. Huge sums of money were quoted frequently; each time stressing how much this disaster was going to cost the nation. Flood insurance was depicted as another entitlement program that was overused and abused, not as a means to help the disaster victims regain their lives. It asked whether the only ones being fooled were the taxpayers; whether this was another pork-barrel boondoggle, another bailout for those living in disaster prone areas. But this discourse also served another purpose, that of distancing the readers from the event.

Domestic Afghanistanism. By focusing on the cost to the nation and framing the disaster in such political rhetoric as entitlement programs, the national media essentially depersonalized the disaster for those outside the flooded Midwest. In other words, the national media framed the disaster as an impersonal event, void of humanness. Readers are discouraged from knowing the event as anything other than another potential economic nightmare for which they will have to pay. This depersonalization should not be surprising for national media stories are written for people who are not directly affected by the physical effects of the flood; for readers who are already distanced. Editors of national publications naturally look to find the basis on which their readers are affected (i.e., as taxpayers or abstract members of the national "whole"). While this may be normal and fit within the "norm" for news story construction (it meets the news value of proximity) it fails to meet the needs of the readers -- even those in New York. As noted earlier, research has shown that readers of disaster news stories are looking for information they can relate to their own lives. The Great Flood of 1993 was a disaster but if one just read the national media it was primarily an economic one, of unimaginable proportions, for the taxpayer.

The Des Moines Register made the issue of cost a personal matter. Through the detailed stories of individuals, families and communities, the Register conveyed a sense of material loss that went far beyond anything that was found in the national media: ruined baby pictures, carpets oozing with mud, homes infested with rats, fish and worms. The people of Des Moines showering under rain pipes and washing their dishes in melting ice cubes conveyed to the reader the physical and psychological toll the Great Flood of 1993 inflicted. Readers of the Register would probably go away knowing that this was a $700 billion dollar flood but they would also leave with a sense of the individual loss of which that staggering amount was composed. In short, the reader of the Register could leave with a very different, very personal, picture of loss in this very material disaster.

The differences in coverage reflect the routines and conventions of news gathering. Conflict, battles with Mother Nature and war are more interesting than peace and dry land. Local stories are more interesting to readers than stories that occur in distant places. The Des Moines Register was trying to meet the needs of all Iowans -- those affected by the flood and the many who were not. The local angle, the detailed, personalized information, the community support and so on, were naturally the focus of the paper. It is to be expected that the Register would go to such lengths. And as one reviewer noted, it would be a major embarrassment for the Register to be beaten by the New York Times. Conversely, it is to be expected that the New York Times, Time, and Newsweek would all present less detailed and personalized news stories. The Great Flood of 1993 was not a personal nor a local issue for their readers. For these papers to go the lengths the Register did would have been absurd and would have bored the readers. Maybe.

Disasters are quite common in the world but most of us never experience them. Our knowledge of these events is shaped by whom we talk to, by what we see on television and what we read and see in the newspapers. The Great Flood of 1993 directly affected the people in Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas and South Dakota. Many didn't have to read the newspaper to find out what it would be like to live through a flood. They lived it. Many more of us, including those in the flood states, weren't so "lucky." Our physical relationship or distance from the flood regions may have been great but our psychological proximity was much closer. As we try to understand and construct the events that we do not know we rely, in part, on media discourse. Media studies have shown, and media scholars have long argued, that news story frames can and do form the perceptions that most people have of the event. Readers look for and use information that they can relate to their own lives. The national media provided little, if any, information the average reader could use in any meaningful way. Putting aside events like disasters, this practice of depersonalizing events, is not serving the needs or the interests of the readers. The information might be good for them but they won't read it and won't understand it if they can't relate to it. In these days of declining newspaper readership national and regional print media need to reasssess their understanding of what newspaper readers need and want. The media discourse on the Great Flood of 1993 was like the telephone relay game, what we heard or read depended very much upon the source. The national media gave us one story, the regional another. While there were commonalities across the media, the underlying discourse was very different and so were the resulting pictures of the Great Flood of 1993.

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CRAWLING TOWARD CIVIL RIGHTS:
A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF MEDIA COVERAGE OF DISABILITY ACTIVISM

Beth Haller
Humanities Division
Penn State-Harrisburg
777 W. Harrisburg Pike
Middletown, PA 17057-4898
phone: 717-948-6203

Electronic Mail: haller@vm.temple.edu

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CRAWLING TOWARD CIVIL RIGHTS:

A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF MEDIA COVERAGE OF DISABILITY ACTIVISM

By Beth Haller

This study describes the narrative tropes related to media coverage of disability rights, as well as contextualizing media coverage of the ADA within the larger U.S. culture. This illustrates how the rights movement is trying to displace older cultural paradigms to which the media and other institutions still adhere.

The ADA story in the news media really began at an event at the U.S. Capitol in March 1990, known as the "crawl-in." It was a disability rights lobbying event in support of the ADA. The activists were fighting for the place of the ADA in public discourse because the lack of attention the act was receiving potentially threatened its viability in the U.S. Congress. Of the elite newspapers that covered the "crawl-in," the Washington Post had done two articles on the Americans with Disabilities Act before March 1990; the New York Times had done two articles, and the Los Angeles Times printed one commentary that called the Act "more loophole than law" (Bolte, 1989).

The qualitative assessment illustrates the shifting of media frames and themes that were characterizing disabled people and their rights movement at the beginning of legislative process for the ADA. This analysis fits with the work of Gitlin (1980) and McCombs and Shaw (1993), who illustrate the role of media in framing social events in our culture and therefore potentially redefining them.

The analysis of media coverage of the crawl-in shows the place of past models of media coverage of people with disabilities and disability issues, as well as in relation to cultural themes about disability that resonate through U.S. culture. I argue that the ADA represents a paradigm shift in how the U.S. culture will interact with people with disabilities in the future, and an analysis of the crawl-in offers significant baseline data as the paradigm begins to shift.

In March 1990, the Americans with Disabilities Act was slowly gaining consideration by the U.S. House of Representatives. It had been passed by the U.S. Senate in September 1989. In March 1990, disability activists descended on the U.S. Capitol to meet with the Speaker of the House and Congressional representatives to urge speedy passage of the act. After the meeting, activists staged a demonstration, chaining their wheelchairs together in the Capitol Rotunda. They also staged a "crawl-in," in which protestors left their wheelchairs and crawled up the Capitol steps.

Their actions directly addressed their place as people with disabilities in U.S. society. By breaking from a social category of marginalization and silence, they tried to shock. They were loud, chanting and yelling. They were active, not passive, chaining their wheelchairs and being uncooperative with police. And they deviated from their "handicap" by leaving their wheelchairs and crawling. They knew if they deviated from the silence and passivity society expected of them they would receive media coverage. And they did. Both NBC and CBS covered the protest, as did The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, and Time magazine.

The disability activists at the Capitol in March 1990 had a specific agenda, which they pursued through actions and words. But the rhetoric of the mainstream media is significant. Media act as mechanisms in the social construction of people with disabilities. Disability scholar Frank Bowe (1978) explains that United States has spent its entire history designing a country for nondisabled people, thus excluding disabled people from buildings, transportation, educational and recreational programs, and communication methods. Because of these barriers, literature and mass media become a crucial component of the process by which people with disabilities are socially constructed in society.

Stories in the media make certain claims about people with disabilities and their actions. Many past studies of media images of disability have been done by rehabilitation and education researchers to assess whether disabled persons are inaccurately or negatively portrayed because of physical and social deviations (Nunnally, 1973; Weinberg and Santana, 1978; Dillon, Byrd, and Byrd, 1980; Donaldson, 1981; Elliot and Byrd, 1982; Bonstetter, 1986; Biklen, 1987; Klobas, 1988). However, some mass media scholars are now turning their attention to the presentation of people with disabilities in the media.

In the 1990s, media scholar John Clogston developed models for use in quantitative studies of how media present people with disabilities. These models fit well with assessment of media stories before the ADA existed. They also are useful when applied to qualitative studies because they help identify the narrative tropes about people with disabilities embedded in the news stories. They have validity in this qualitative analysis of the crawl-in because the ADA had not yet been passed, and therefore had not begun its reconstruction of disability in the United States. In his content analysis of 13 newspapers and three newsmagazines, Clogston created two models of media portrayal of disabled persons: traditional and progressive.

A traditional disability category presents a disabled person as malfunctioning in a medical or economic way. Problems arise because an individual is disabled; they do not come from society. The traditional presentation is broken into two models: the medical and the social pathology. In the medical model, disability is seen as illness. Persons with a disability are dependent on health professionals for cures or maintenance. The disabled individual is passive and does not participate in "regular" activities because of the disability.

As an example of the medical story model, Clogston cites a 1989 story in the Denver Post titled, "Falling into a nightmare -- Accidents frustrate wheelchair-bound Aurora woman." The story focused on the woman's inability to get around in her community. The story concentrated on the limitations of her body rather than the environmental/structural barriers that actually restrict her activities.

In the social pathology model, Clogston cites a Philadelphia Inquirer story on Oct. 26, 1989 titled "PA. appeals court order on funding," in which the state of Pennsylvania was appealing a federal court order that it should spend $7.5 million on programs for mentally disabled persons in Philadelphia. The message is that disabled persons are costly and the state does not see their programs as worth funding.

Clogston has since added a third category under the traditional model, which he calls the supercrip model (Personal communication, 1993). Disabled people are presented as "superhuman" because of physical accomplishments or "amazing" because they behave as nondisabled people and seem to have "overcome" their disability. For example, a story in the Dec. 10, 1989 Boston Globe Sunday Magazine writes, "Michael Pierschall is an American furniture maker . . . whose career has been complicated by the sudden deafness he suffered as a freshman in college" (Clogston, 1990, p. 8). The implication is that Pierschall makes furniture in spite of being deaf. The story is constructing a connection between physical ability and the mastery of a specific profession and indicating that Pierschall has surmounted this challenge.

For a quantitative study of media coverage of the ADA, I developed a fourth traditional model of media presentation that I argue emerges with the growth of ADA stories and overtakes the other three categories. It is the business model. In this model, news media present disabled people and their issues as costly to society and businesses especially. Making society accessible for disabled people is not really worth the cost and overburdens businesses. It is not a "good value" for society or businesses. Accessibility is not profitable, according to the business model of presentation. This model, however, does not truly come into play until the ADA passed and begins to be implemented, and therefore is most useful in the quantitative analysis of ADA coverage.

On the other hand, the progressive category views people as disabled by society, not a physical attribute. The handicap is society's inability to adapt its physical, social, and occupational environment and its attitudes to disabled persons. The progressive presentation encompasses two models: the minority/civil rights model and the cultural pluralism model.

In the minority/civil rights model, Clogston says the person who has a disability is seen as a member of the disability community, which has legitimate political grievances. As an example in this category, Clogston cites a Oct. 2, 1989 story in the Boston Globe headlined "Civil rights issue divides employers, disabled workers." The story relates how small businesses lobbying against the Americans with Disabilities Act were working against the interests of some of their employees. The construction of people with disabilities in the story is that they have the right to accommodation in the workplace. This model is highly relevant to both the qualitative and quantitative study of ADA coverage.

In the cultural pluralism model, the person who is disabled is seen as a multifaceted person and his or her disability does not receive undue attention. They are portrayed as nondisabled people would be. For example on Oct. 31, 1989, the Philadelphia Inquirer did a story about Ronald D. Castille who was running for re-election as Philadelphia district attorney. The story just mentioned, but did not focus upon, Castille as a disabled Vietnam war veteran. Unlike a supercrip story, this story did not hold Castille up as extra special because of a disability. The disability is treated as just one facet of his whole persona.

Again, I have created two more models of media presentation that are more relevant to the full ADA coverage. One category, which is essentially the capitalistic flipside of the business model, I call the consumer model. Within this media representation model, people with disabilities represent an untapped consumer group. Making society accessible could be profitable to businesses and society in general. If disabled people have access to jobs, they will have more disposable income. If disabled people have jobs, they will no longer need government assistance.

The other progressive presentation is the legal model and speaks to the fact that the ADA is civil rights law. The narrative theme in this media model is that it is illegal to treat disabled people in certain ways. They have legal rights and may need to sue to guarantee those rights. The ADA is presented as a legal tool to halt discrimination.

Once again, the consumer and legal models do not become as relevant until the coverage of the ADA increases. It should also be remembered that in my use of these models, they are not mutually exclusive. Several models may appear in one story and may even compete, as I will illustrate in the qualitative analysis.

I have previously used Clogston's models in a another study of media representations of disability activism. The disability rights event assisted in laying the groundwork for further disability rights activities and helped prepare the press for what was to follow in just two years, I argue. In 1991, I undertook a quantitative study of the 1988 Deaf President Now movement at Gallaudet University in Washington, D.C. The media event centered on the student protest at the world's only university for deaf people. Students shut down the campus for seven days after a hearing woman was appointed as university president over two qualified deaf candidates. She knew no sign language, which is considered by many deaf people to be their native language (Padden and Humphries, 1988), and had no knowledge of the cultural traditions of deaf people.

I studied the presentation of deaf people in the Washington Post and New York Times in the years before, during, and after the Deaf President Now protest. My findings showed how the presentation of deaf persons in the media shifted. The traditional categories -- medical and social pathology -- accounted for 62 percent of the stories in the two years before the Deaf President Now protest. Stories reflecting that model dropped to 24 percent during the year of the protest (1988), and stayed lower at 40 percent in the two years following the protest. The progressive model categories -- minority/civil rights and cultural pluralism -- fit squarely with the kinds of stories written about the Gallaudet protest. Deaf people were presented as a distinctive community with a valid political agenda. This progressive presentation continued in the two years after the protest, with the progressive model accounting for 60 percent of the stories.

The study of disability activism illustrates a divergence from the findings of Clogston in his study of general interest stories about people with disability. He found that more than 60 percent of the articles (N=585) covered disability under the traditional category, meaning that it is reported on as medical or social welfare issue. Only 13.2 percent of the articles presented disabled persons within the minority-civil rights category. However, a majority of the articles (62.6 percent) were issue-oriented, as opposed to individual-oriented, showing that disability is covered more seriously than expected.

From his findings, Clogston concluded that "while the state of news coverage of disability issues is not hopeless, it has a long way to go to be considered 'Progressive'" (1990, p. 12). He finds it disconcerting that one of the country's agenda-setting newspapers, the New York Times, had a larger number of stories in traditional categories than the overall group of articles. Because the New York Times and other elite newspapers set the standards for other media in the United States, their construction of people with disabilities within traditional categories has ramifications for attitude changes toward disabled people that disability activists want to accomplish. Clogston says his study indicates that the disability rights movement still has much work to do to educate the general public and the news media.

I argue, through my studies of media coverage of disability activism and current study of coverage of the ADA, that those more traditional and stereotyping images are competing with newer images supplied by an active disability rights agenda and new federal legislation.

It should be noted that although stories about disability and disabled people do enter news media stories fairly frequently, disability activism and the media coverage of it has represented regional pockets rather than what could be understood to be a nationwide movement. For example, illustrations of past disability activism include sit-ins over the lack of implementation of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973, protests over the inaccessibility of buses in some cities, and demonstrations about proposed funding cuts of disability programs.

These actions set a precedent for designing the crawl-in in 1990. Disability activists knew they would have to go to great lengths to draw national media attention. It was understood that the Americans with Disabilities Act that they were in Washington to support was crucial to the civil rights of the estimated 43 million people with disabilities in the United States.

So the activism at the U.S. Capitol in 1990 had several components: to pull together the people there into a cohesive disability movement and to let legislators and U.S. citizens know the importance of the ADA to disabled people. Therefore, drawing national media attention would assist in getting the ADA and disability issues into public discourse.

The activists were fighting for the place of the ADA in public discourse because the lack of attention the act was receiving potentially threatened its viability in the U.S. Congress. Their dramatic protest of leaving their wheelchairs and crawling up the Capitol steps was partially successful, especially with the play it received on the network news and in large circulation publications. ABC and the local newspaper denied them a place in the journalistic discourse of that day. The Washington Post ran a six-paragraph story that did not mention the crawl-in (Buckley, 1990 March 14). The Post reported on the protest completely as a police story, explaining the reason for the arrest of about 100 people with disabilities. The only source mentioned in the story was a spokesperson for the U.S. Capitol Police, who said "they were asked to leave the rotunda, but refused" (Buckley, 1990 March 14, p. B4). The Disability Rag, a disability rights publication, claims that the Post refused to cover the protest and called it "a pathetic demonstration" in its ombudsman column ("The crawl-in," 1990, p. 21).

But other national media covered the disability activism as a deserving hard news story. The Los Angeles Times wrote a medium-length story that appeared on page A27 (Eaton, 1990 March 13). It followed up the day after the protest with a one-paragraph story explaining the arrest of disabled protestors (Officers arrest 104, Los Angeles Times, 1990 March 14).

The New York Times wrote an 11-paragraph story the day after the protest (Holmes, 1990 March 14), but followed up with an analysis article about disability rights in its Sunday section (Holmes, 1990 March 18). Time magazine ran a two-paragraph story in its American Notes section, but ran the most dramatic photo of all the media sources, which pictured a close-up of a disability activist pulling himself up a step of the Capitol (A crawl-in at Capitol, Time, 1990 March 26). NBC and ABC both ran about 30-second stories on the protest.

More important than the amount of coverage of the crawl-in is the rhetorical dimension of the media stories.

> Some other less privileged and less fortunate people were desperately trying to rock the boat on Capitol Hill today. About 60 disabled people demonstrated demanding passage of a bill to outlaw discrimination against them in employment,

> transportation, and other areas. The bill passed the Senate last year but is now bogged down in the House (Brokaw, 1990).

Tom Brokaw, in the NBC story about the Capitol demonstration, illustrates the social pathology model of disadvantage associated with disabled people. Brokaw tells TV viewers that people with disabilities are "less fortunate," "less privileged," and "desperate." These people with disabilities must appeal to the state to get help. Falling into Clogston's traditional model, the problems disabled people face lie within themselves, not within society's barriers.

People with disabilities reside in a peripheral place in society, according to Brokaw's characterization, because they must "rock the boat" to get their demands met. Their demands are presented as valid because discrimination against them is acknowledged, but the legislation necessary to fix their problems is "bogged down," which puts a question mark around their needs.

In addition, this NBC story does not construct people with disabilities as if they can speak for themselves. There is no sound bite from any disability activist, only Brokaw's three-sentence voice over. The sound of activists chanting "ADA Now" does filter into the background, and there is a shot of I. King Jordan, the president of Gallaudet University, who is deaf, signing and speaking.

However, at a broader level, the fact that NBC news decided to cover the protest and show the crawl-in in the story reflects that the larger progressive construction of disability civil rights is making it into journalistic discourse. Although at level of language, this news story still constructs people with disabilities within a medical or social pathology models, it is allowing the entry of the minority/civil rights model into the social construction.

Dan Rather's language in the CBS illustrates also how the civil rights perspective enters the stories:

> Several hundred people in wheelchairs demonstrated in the nation's Capitol today. They lobbied for a civil rights act for Americans with disabilities. Even though the U.S. Capitol itself has wheelchair ramps, they dramatized their general problems with access by crawling up the Capitol steps.

Rather helps validate the ADA by calling it a civil rights act. The implication is that these disability activists are following a tradition of activism by oppressed groups to gain broader civil rights. However, his rhetoric also pacifies the TV audience by letting them know that the activists are crawling up the steps for symbol alone and that the Capitol is accessible. Therefore, the audience may receive a false sense about the accessibility of society, which is mostly inaccessible to people who use wheelchairs. Rather fails to put the Capitol steps comment in context. The reason the federal buildings are accessible is because of the Rehab Act of 1973, which disability activists had to fight for with sit-ins in federal and state buildings across the country in the mid-1970s.

The language in the print stories embodied some similar claims about the demonstration, shifting between traditional categories and the civil rights idea that Americans should be allowed to lobby for their beliefs. Time magazine wrote with a gee-whiz attitude that "there had never been such a sight at the entrance of the U.S. Capitol" as the crawl-in, but that "the climb was not really necessary" (A crawl-in, Time, 1990 March 26, p. 25). The disability activists are framed as "supercrips," who are doing amazing things in the name of a protest. They designed a protest that is better than one by nondisabled people because they can use their disabled bodies to shock. However, by pointing out that crawling up the steps was not necessary because wheelchair lifts and ramps are available at the Capitol, once again the activists' action is characterized as symbol rather than reality. This chipped away at the symbolic nature of their crawling up the steps.

The New York Times employed similar conventions saying that the activists "boisterously demonstrated," and they "had intended to be arrested" (Holmes, 1990 March 14, p. B7). Thus, disabled people are constructed as culturally plural and given the ability to be active and vocal. Disability activists are constructed as being able to manipulate the police for the attention that provides, just as any other activist group might.

The Los Angeles Times said disabled people were "crawling up the Capitol steps to dramatize the barriers confronting them" (Eaton, 1990, March 13, p. A27). The LA Times also characterized protestors as "grumbling" about the situation with the ADA, their lobbying effort was called "unusual," but that the protest "had some of the fervor of a civil rights rally of the 1960s." Thus, the Times combines two conflicting tropes: Disabled people are unusual in the medical model because of the physical deviations of their bodies, yet disabled people are able to come together to form a minority group with real civil rights concerns.

The analysis of the protest by the New York Times tries to reflect the protest within the minority/civil rights trope, but falls into traditional rhetoric periodically. Although acknowledged as a cultural and political movement, the disability rights movement is characterized as a product of better technology.

> In many ways, it is a byproduct of the technological revolution. Breakthroughs in medicine, the development of computers that allow the hearing and speech impaired to use telephones, and advancements in motorized wheelchairs have meant more people with severe handicaps live longer, can do more for themselves and have the potential for

> enjoying fuller lives (Holmes, 1990 March 18, p. E5).

However, what is not said is that this technology while empowering some people allows for more social control of people with disabilities. Technology is expensive and therefore people with disabilities must prove their eligibility for the technology. Technology also feeds into class issues and the issue of the status of certain disabilities. For example, an empowered middle-class person with a mobility disability can advocate for him or herself and may have medical insurance for the best wheelchair. A poor person with a speech disability may have a more difficult time in accessing needed technology because the disability inhibits communication. The technology in the Times story is not presented as a civil right but as support that society gives as a gift to "disadvantaged" people with disabilities. The idea of the gift instead of the civil right constructs disabled people as dependent.

As for the Americans with Disabilities Act, Liachowitz (1988) has shown in her research that disability legislation has played a crucial role in the social construction of people with disabilities in the United States. The ADA, however, is different because people with disabilities fought for the creation of this legislation because of the discrimination against them in society. They are trying to have some control in the legislative system that has so much power to define them.

Some of the language in the newspapers reflect that society may not yet understand what this empowerment means to the oppressed disability community. The New York Times story on the protest pointed out how disability activists were breaking laws and practicing deviance. It focused on their demonstration in the Capitol as illegal under federal law (Holmes, 1990 March 14). It explained how police had to dress in riot gear and use chain cutters and acetylene torches to cut the chains that were used to link wheelchairs. The aspect of story shows how the business model of media representation begins to enter the discourse. The story's focus constructs the protest as costing time and money, forcing tourists out of the Capitol and requiring two hours for police to unchain the protestors.

On the other hand, disability demonstrators are being characterized as just another activist group causing an uproar because of perceived injustices. Their claims of civil rights are being reported in most of the media stories, but are also being defused by their characterization as deviant and breaking conventions on their place in society.

The visual dimensions of the crawl-in continue the narrative with images that show the competing models of media representations. The New York Times even took note of the images:

> The pictures were striking, just as they were intended to be: Children paralyzed from the waist down crawling up the steps of the Capitol, and more than 100 protesters, most in wheelchairs, being arrested by police officers in riot gear after a raucous demonstration in the Rotunda (Holmes, 1990 March 18, p.E5)

Disability activists knew they had strong, dramatic images for news photographers. But what ended up on TV and in the newspapers and magazines also contributed to the social construction of disability.

On NBC news, the story showed one person pushing another person in a wheelchair in front of the Capitol. The person using the wheelchair has a large U.S. flag attached to the chair. They are followed by a person in an electric wheelchair speeding by and someone walking by. The next shot shows I. King Jordan, the president of Gallaudet University, surrounded by people in wheelchairs and standing, signing and chanting. These images show a calm, not fiery, demonstration. They are framed as Americans using their right of free speech with the images of the flag and speakers before the Capitol.

More interesting is the choice of images related to the "crawl-in." Dozens of disability activists challenged the notion what a disabled body should do by leaving their wheelchairs and crawling up the Capitol steps. They tried to make access issues visual, showing how stairs deny entry to people who use wheelchairs.

The NBC story showed only one person crawling up the Capitol steps -- 8-year-old Jennifer Keelan of Denver. Brokaw said: "8-year-old Jennifer Keelan left her wheelchair and dragged herself up the steps saying 'I'll take all night if I have to.'" The Los Angeles Times story also mentioned Keelan, saying "spectators' attention focused on 8-year-old Jennifer Keelan of Denver, who propelled herself to the top of the steep stone steps using only her knees and elbows" (Eaton, 1990 March 13, p. A27). NBC showed the blond and smiling Keelan lift herself up with her arms, putting her face to a step to lift her knees. She then inches along on her stomach by pulling with her arms.

In light of the attention on Jennifer Keelan, The Disability Rag questioned the use of the crawl-in as a media image. It said the image of Keelan crawling up the steps cheered on by her mother "seemed to smack, ever so faintly, of opportunism" (p. 21).

> One might wonder why a movement whose purpose has been to steadfastly insist that it is wrong for disabled people to have to mount barriers like steps would then choose as its central civil rights image the vision of them doing just that. One might question why a movement intent on showing that disabled people are adults, not children, would make their central media image a child (The crawl-in, 1990, p. 21).

It is interesting that NBC rejected shots of the numerous adults crawling up the steps for a shot of a child. Nearby to Jennifer Keelan, 33-year-old Paulette Patterson pulled herself up the steps on her back saying "I want my civil rights. I want to be treated like a human being" (Eaton, 1990, March 13, p. A27). But children are deemed by society as cute and non-threatening. Non-disabled children crawl up steps while at play, so Jennifer Keelan can create the illusion that she is not disabled. She is bright and smiling and has a red and white bandanna wrapped around her head. She's wearing a green T-shirt and jeans.

Knoll (1987) has developed 83 categories for use in assessing the photos of disabled people in a qualitative way. One of Knoll's interpretive categories tries to assess whether visual images of people with disabilities are portraying them as childlike or as children. I argue that using a child as a symbol in the NBC story fits with Knoll's categorization. The use of Jennifer Keelan fits within a traditional trope of people with disabilities as children who need to be taken care of by society. Children with disabilities also evoke greater pity and represent more tragedy in the eyes of society because they have a life of disability before them.

In contrast, another image of the crawl-in in Time magazine pictured a man sliding up the Capitol steps. He is bearded with long hair and a headband. The two male activists near him look similar. Part of the Capitol is visible in the background, which is not the case in the Keelan shot. The image of these men harkens back to images of the anti-Vietnam war protests of the 1960s. They exude a more radical and a more civil rights image than that of Keelan. The Time photo fits with Knoll's "This is Me" category, in which the person with a disability is shown as self assertive.

The CBS images fit strongly with the minority group/civil rights model. The focus was not on one person but on a group of protesters with the signs and symbols of activism. The shot of the crawl-in pictured five-six adults, of different races and genders, pulling themselves up the steps. The group shot emphasized the issue at hand rather than focusing on one "supercrip." However, this TV story also neglected to give disabled people a voice. There was no interview with an activist about the issue, only Rather's voice over. So the TV production staff was in primary control of both the images and the rhetoric of the crawl-in story. And ABC negated the crawl-in story all together by doing no story on the protest.

The only other still photo of the demonstration does not depict the crawl-in. It is a photo distributed by The Associated Press and ran with the analysis article in The New York Times (Holmes, 1990 March 18). It shows three people in wheelchairs sitting in a circle. Behind them is a flag and behind that is the U.S. Capitol. The people in the picture look to be calmly chatting. The only radical nature to the photo is that the one person using a wheelchair who faces the camera has on a headband, sunglasses, and a beard, and looks visually like a Vietnam veteran. But overall, the photo exudes tranquility and Americana. Most concepts of protest have been defused in the photo. The cutline even calls the demonstration "a rally." This photo depicts the disability protestors as passive, rather than active. It combines the aura of minority group status with the traditional trope of disabled people as passive recipients of aid from society.

Some of this use of traditional stereotypes to present people with disabilities may result not only from traditional cultural norms but also from the disability activists limited push to truly educate news reporters. At the crawl-in, it seems shock techniques took some precedence over promoting an agenda for societal change to the media. The Disability Rag criticized the organizers of the demonstration for not properly considering the logistics of getting good information to the media. Press materials were not created until three days before the event. Participants in the demonstration were not given instruction as to how to answer questions for the press. "As a result, many individuals simply got the story wrong. They told reporters the wrong facts. They told reporters contradictory facts. Or they were able to tell them nothing at all" ("Opportunity lost," 1990, p. 31).

The Rag acknowledged that the mainstream media was ready and willing to cover the disability rights movement, but leaders of the movement were too busy organizing to deal with the media. ADAPT organizer Mark Johnson has said ADAPT, which stages many disability rights demonstrations nationwide, aims to build community rather than lobby or pass bills. But The Rag questions whether that precludes ADAPT members from being articulate with the media. It said the demonstrators missed many opportunities to tell reporters what rights the Americans with Disabilities Act will give people with disabilities.

> For the Americans with Disabilities Act this spring in D.C. that meant talking to reporters about the right to eat in a restaurant. The right to go to the toilet in a public restroom. The right to be hired in a store. But none of us told those stories. None of us told the specifics of what individual members of Congress were doing, in real terms, to prevent that. We could have easily told those stories, too. We missed a golden opportunity ("Opportunity lost," 1990, p. 31).

Therefore, the resulting media images of disability protest are also a function of a disability rights movement that is still in the learning stage with regards to controlling the image of people with disabilities in the news media. This qualitative analysis illustrates how media frames can potentially shift and slide as cultural situations change. As Hall (1978) has explained, news media frames are "contested terrain" in which different sides of an issue battle for control over presentation and language. The 1990 crawl-in at the U.S. Capitol in support of the Americans with Disabilities Act shows that the activities of disability activists are resulting in the gradual shifts that are taking place in the media's social construction of disability. As Clogston has shown in the media models representing disability, their traditional constructions have been ones associated with medical dependency, superhuman feats, or a disadvantaged status in society. These constructions still hold true in much of the rhetoric and images in media stories about people with disabilities.

However, when disabled people engage in vigorous protest for their rights. These traditional tropes become more malleable. When disability activists pull people together as a minority group or social movement, the media accept the civil rights construction delineated by the disability group. A new construction of people with disabilities flows through the media, one that combines some of the old stereotypes with new more progressive constructions.

Lobbying for rights through protests and demonstrations can have even more significant implications for people with disabilities. When they take an active stance and grab the limelight, they are confronting their social construction as passive, disadvantaged people. And they plug into the media's news values that reward change, action, and consequence in journalistic discourse. Therefore, the media's powerful place in the social construction of people with disabilities may become a positive, rather than negative, force when disability groups protest discrimination.

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The Native American Press
The Tribal Journalist's Perspective
Interviews with nine journalists from Southwestern tribal newspapers

Presented at the
AEJMC conference
Minorities and Communication Division
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Leslie Alisoun Wright
University of Missouri School of Journalism
Columbia, Missouri

The Native American Press
The Tribal Journalist's Perspective
Interviews with nine journalists from Southwestern tribal newspapers

> "The best way that the people of any nation can understand those of another is to develop on an individual basis a more sophisticated attitude toward the realities of language and a more patient stance toward each other." John C. Merrill, *Global Journalism*

From a mainstream perspective, Native American tribal news publications lack many of the qualities of a "newspaper." For one thing, daily publications are rare: even weekly publications are unusual. Instead, most tribal news publications are biweekly or monthly. Typically, the news angle is highly localized, with very few datelines from beyond the reservation's borders and even fewer, if any, national datelines. Often stories and photographs reserved for the inside pages of a mainstream daily, such as sports events, beauty pageant results and cultural affairs, can be found on the front pages of tribal publications. Perhaps the largest distinguishing factor in the minds of those who view the tribal press in mainstream terms is the source of revenue. Tribal publications are typically owned by their tribal governments and government funding is their only means of support. The journalists are employees of the tribal government and as such are hired and fired at the discretion of the tribal administration. Such was the case on November 30, 1993 when the Hopi tribal government deleted the Hopi paper from the tribe's annual budget without a public hearing.[1]

These distinctions between mainstream norms and tribal publications causes doubt whether tribal newspapers can be considered legitimate news publications. Perhaps because of this, little academic energy beyond listing, categorizing and describing, has been expended studying the Native American press. Many of those who have made observations of the Native American press have made them from a mainstream perspective, failing to fully consider the culturally and economically distinct environment in which these publications are produced. For example, scholars Daniel Littlefield and James Parins, who cataloged Native American publications in three volumes starting in 1826 and ending in 1985, made the following observation: "Independence, financial and editorial, is what most Native editors and publishers feel they lack. The most successful publishers on both the national and local levels appear to be those that have it."[2] These type of mainstream judgments about what makes a "successful" publication without an indepth analysis of the publications themselves, in part provoked this study. It seems Littlefield and Parins equate independence with success, measuring with a mainstream rule. The authors also noted that many publications were finding funding sources and predicted that more and more would move towards independence. Among the papers surveyed for this study, the authors' prediction of nearly a decade ago that the trend towards independence would continue is not born out.[3]

In their historical overview of the Native American press, Sharon

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[1] George Hardeen, "Hopi Newspaper, Tribal PR Office Shut Down," *Medium Rare* (Jan. 1994.) 1.

[2] Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. and James W. Parins,*American Indian and Alaska Native Newspapers and Periodicals 1971-1985.* (Westport, CT: Greeenwood Press, 1986).xiv.

[3] Littlefield and Parins xv.

and James Murphy also make observations about contemporary publications. Assessing the Native American press in the wake of the volatile 1970's, a period in Native American history characterized by civil rights activism and violence, the Murphys concluded that what the Native American press needed most was stability and professionalism: "Thus, stable communications enterprises -- and their primary advantage, quality workmanship -- remain largely the hope of the future, not a current reality."[4] Their study is broad in scope as they include agency and religious publications in their definition of the Native American press. Because they include such a wide range of publications, it may have been difficult to draw conclusions about the role of the Native American press, but the Murphys nevertheless apply a mainstream measure in judging the press system as a whole. Their conclusions suggest they were disappointed in what they found. In contrast to the wide-net approach used by the Murphys and Littlefield and Parins, this study isolates the reservation tribal press and attempts to view the publications' role from the perspective of the journalists producing them thereby avoiding, to as great a degree as possible, measurement by mainstream standards.[5]

The designation, "tribal press", refers to those publications produced on reservations and subsidized by tribal government appropriations. Other classifications of Native American news publications include: urban publications, which are usually financed by a mix of advertising, grants, and tribal funding; and independent publications, of which there are just three in this country.

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[4] James E. Murphy and Sharon Murphy, *Let My People Know* (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1981)162.

[5] Murphy and Murphy. The Murphys studied the Native American press in the wake of a period of activism and a turbulent struggle both within tribes themselves and with the federal government, which was reflected in the proliferation of publications and their tenor. When the Murphys note a lack of objectivity and professionalism in these publications there may be two factors that affected their perception. First, they cast a wide net, examining a broad range of publications including "those owned or managed by, intended for and speaking for American Indian people," which includes religious and federal government agency publications. (p.16). Secondly they observed the press during a period of activism, which spawned advocacy publications.

The study was limited to tribal news publications in a specific region of Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado. The area chosen lent itself well to this study because eight of the ten most populous reservations are here, and it was feasible to drive from reservation to reservation. Data was gathered in face-to-face interviews with tribal journalists at the selected tribal papers.

Nine publications were identified that met the criteria for this study: 1.-They are supported primarily or wholly by tribal funds. 2.-Their readership is reservation-based and comprised of recognized tribes. 3.-The publications are news oriented.

Frequency of publication was not a limitation. These publications cover the range from weekly to monthly. There were no daily publications chosen. The sample of tribal publications represents a range of news-oriented, tribally funded publications. The *Navajo Times* represents one end of the spectrum. It is a weekly serving the area Navajo population of approximately 200,000 and generally meets the mainstream criteria for a newspaper. The *Gila River Indian News,* by contrast, is a monthly that serves a reservation population of about 7,000. This full-spectrum approach was chosen to provide data more representative of the tribal press as a whole and to help offer a more accurate portrait.

Below is a list of the publications selected for the study:

A:Shiwi Awan Tsina:I:Shokwinne, Zuni monthly newsletter

Au-Authum Action News, Pima-Maricopa monthly

Weenuche Smoke Signals (formerly *Echo*) Ute Mountain Ute monthly

Fort Apache Scout, Whiteriver Apache biweekly

Gila River Indian News, Gila River monthly

Hopi Tutu-Veh-Ni, Hopi biweekly

Jicarilla Chieftan, Jicarilla Apache biweekly

Navajo Times, Navajo weekly

Southern Ute Drum, Southern Ute biweekly

While it is the intent of this study to avoid measuring by guidelines that are ultimately limiting, it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the influence of the mainstream culture from any aspect of the daily lives of tribal members. The tribal press itself is a product of the mainstream culture, though the existence of a separate tribal press dates back 165 years.[6] The oldest of the papers selected for this study started publishing in 1955. In appearance, these papers follow a mainstream model perhaps most comparable to a small-town weekly. But like many aspects of mainstream culture, these newspapers have been adapted to meet the demands of the reservation environment. The most apparent adaptation is government subsidy in the absence of advertising revenue. This study attempted to illicit anecdotal responses from journalists at the papers selected. The survey was designed to minimize interviewer involvement but to have enough control from interview to interview so that comparisons could be drawn and commonalitites indentified. The aim was to have the journalists tell their story -- about their role in the community and what limitations they face as they do their jobs.

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[6] Richard LaCourse, "Native American Journalism: An Overview," *Journalism History* 6:2 (1979) 34.

Three Roles of the Tribal Journalist

Respondents were asked to recount three stories that they had written in the past year and considered their favorites. The question was designed to discover what the journalists find most rewarding and are most proud of about their work for an on-the-job perspective that gets beyond a simple list of what the journalist likes most about the job.

Favorite stories reveal the tribal journalist in three roles. One is that of a cultural curator writing about tribal traditions. Another role is that of a community supporter drawing attention to the achievements of individuals in the community. Along these lines, all of the papers also make note of academic and athletic achievements of their members. The third role, that of watchdog reporter, is more or less circumscribed by the tribal administration and is often undertaken at potential risk to the reporter and the source.

Human interest stories, particularly those having to do with traditional tribal culture, were highest on the list of favorites, which makes sense given that the majority also included meeting people as among the reasons for enjoying their jobs. Human interest stories may also hold appeal because the journalist is less likely to wade into material that the administration views as controversial and is more likely to feel unencumbered editorially. These types of stories also allow the journalist to connect with the community and contribute a narrative for the tribe. The tribal journalist provides a continuity that links the past with the present and the individual with the community. In so doing, the tribal journalist takes on a role played by all journalists to some extent. The role is a natural one, part of human nature, according to ethicist Alasdair McIntyre, whose work is applied to journalism by Edmund B. Lambeth. Writes Lambeth: "Stories are looms that weave the threads of personal identities into patterns."[7] Journalists provide an opportunity to make sense of the world through storytelling. In the case of the tribal journalist, creating a continuity between the past, as embodied by traditional culture, and the present, is challenging because the two are not easily reconciled. The past is threatened by and, to some degree, has been destroyed by the present. For example, the traditional tribal system of governance was subjugated by governmental systems imposed by the federal government under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Recently, however, there has been a trend to shake off federal government influences in tribal government.

The journalists gain a sense of stewardship as they focus on the tribe's history and bring to the fore what in the past has been both indirectly and directly quashed by the events of history. The examples cited below show the journalist playing the role of curator of traditional culture, assuming a "printed voice" to communicate the tribe's cultural heritage. This is not to say that the journalist has supplanted traditional forms of cultural perpetuation, such as storytelling and ritual. These journalists, like any journalists simply reflect what is happening in the society that they live in. The interest in writing about traditional tribal culture is reflective of a community desire to preserve the tribe's culture. The following excerpts illustrate the tribal journalist in this role.

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[7] Edmund B. Lambeth, *Committed Journalism*, second ed. (Bloomington: Indiana UP 1992)87.

> I got another story on the Sun Dance, which is one of our traditional ceremonies, and I (interviewed) two elders. I like working with elders because I think that in our society right now, sometimes they are a little bit overlooked. They are vital and they are the most important part of any tribe. That's where the wisdom is. So I went to these elders and asked them about telling me how we got the Sun Dance, how it was given to the people. And they have this really beautiful story and they gave me all of the details and the content about the Sun Dance, which a lot of people my age might not know. Dedre Millich, *Southern Ute Drum*

> A lot of the young people today do not know some of the story telling, the legends of the Ute. That kind of thing is what I like to do. Norman Lopez, *Weenuche Smoke Signals*

All nine of the journalists interviewed said their papers include information about their traditional cultures on a regular basis. Cultural activities were listed as receiving regular coverage in the pages of every newspaper studied. These types of stories are another facet of the paper's role as a reinforcer of cultural identity that was discussed earlier as a characteristic of the tribal papers. Four of the papers occasionally incorporate tribal language in their text. Art work and mastheads with tribal motifs reinforce the paper's role as a preserver and perpetuator of tribal identity, as well. But rather than focusing on specific points of conflict either within the tribe itself or with the community beyond the reservation border, the emphasis tends to be on nurturing a sense of pride in the tribe's heritage. In writing about the past, the tribal journalists are weaving a narrative in a way that they believe serves a common good. For a mainstream journalist providing a positive influence on the community might also mean revisiting history - but in a different way. A conscientious journalist working today may strive to view the past from a perspective that is less ethnocentric in creating a narrative for today. In either case both tribal and mainstream journalists view their narratives as making sense of and bettering their communities.[8] This isn't to say that tribal cultural conflict is ignored in the pages of tribal newspapers. Commentary on cultural clashes can be humorous, a bumbling tourist, for example or grave, in the case of discrimination. In this sense, the role of the tribal journalist and the tribal paper is distinct from that of their mainstream counterpart. Mainstream papers, by contrast, attempt to appeal to a broad readership. They generally present a culturally neutral format relying on widely accepted symbols of nationalism such as national holidays.[9]

The next most mentioned favorite stories are a staple in mainstream journalism, those in which the journalist played the role commonly known as "the watchdog," role uncovering wrongdoing. For instance, in the following example the journalist's efforts not only resulted in spotlighting a wrong but also had a poignant human interest dimension:

> A fire broke out in a (tribal) home, and an 11 year-old boy . . .saved the life of five people. In so doing, he lost his own life. That was one of the most heart-wrenching stories I've

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[8] Edmund B. Lambeth and James Aucoin, "Journalism, Narrative and Community," *Professional Ethics* 2:1 (1993). The authors discuss the journalist's role as societal narrator and the ethical implications of that role in terms of the potential for both positive and negative effects on the community.

[9] Altschull 131.

> ever written. I interviewed the family. But as a sidebar to that story, there were also suggestions that the wood stove was the point of origin of the fire. Maybe it was improperly installed and that in itself may have caused the fire. . . . It had to do with the faulty inspection starting first with the construction of the homes, which is HUD funds -- the funding source for homes. Then the tribe contracts with local construction firms to build these homes. . . . First of all, I do like investigative reporting and hard hitting stories about people being unfair and even corrupt . . . . I like writing about human dignity and character and heroism and certainly the story about the 11-year-old boy was uncommon valor. He tried to save his grandma and in so doing lost his life. Curt Gustafson, *Fort Apache Scout.*

Political controversy characterized another favorite watchdog story:

> During a tribal election for chief judge, the incumbent was not reelected and the man who was elected was an employee of the court at the time, as well. So basically, you had the incumbent who was still the boss and the other guy who had won the office but was still an employee. They had a confrontation in the tribal court and the incumbent threw him in jail. He found him in contempt of court. So the judge that was seated threw the judge that was going to replace him in jail for 30 days! That was a good story. Stanley Throssel, *Gila River Indian News*

It is not uncommon for elements of the three roles identified here -- cultural curator, community supporter, and watchdog -- to overlap, such was the case in the fire story, which had both the elements of community supporter and watch dog. But these three roles are noteworthy because they show how the tribal journalist's role is similar to that of a journalist working in the mainstream, yet is uniquely adapted to the culture from which and for which they weave a narrative.

The Tribal Journalist and the Government

One criticism of tribally owned papers is that they are nothing more than a public relations tool and that the journalists who work for them are merely advocates of the government in power.[10] While the tribal press may fall short in many of the criteria generally accepted for classification as newspapers, mainstream papers do not necessarily satisfy all of these ideals either. In their historic critical examination of the press in 1947, the Hutchins Commission found the press negligent in its duty to the public and made a plea for social responsibility. Again, in 1968 in the wake of race riots in the nation's cities, the Kerner Commission reiterated the need for socially responsible media that represent the whole of society:

> The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world. The ills of the ghetto, the difficulties of life there, the Negro's burning sense of grievance, are seldom conveyed. Slights and indignities are part of the Negro's daily life, and many of them come from what he now calls 'the white press' -- a press that repeatedly, if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference, of white America. This may be understandable, but it is not excusable in an institution that has the mission to inform and educate the whole of our society. [11]

More recently, the problems that arise from one group's dominance over information have been viewed on an international level. The McBride Commission report in 1980 examined the international flow of news and drew similar conclusions about the dominance of the Western media over developing nations. The commission argued that world news was determined by a handful of powerful industrialized countries to the detriment of developing nations. The recommendation to involve developing countries' governments to help balance the flow of news was met with objection from Western countries but raised important questions about the social responsibility of the global media.[12]

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[10] Mark Trahant, former editor of the defunct daily *The Navajo Nation TODAY*, quoted in Gassaway 33.

[11] Report on the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, New York Times Edition, (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. 1968)366.

One may argue that government ownership prevents objectivity and casts a long shadow over the tribal newspaper's validity as a news outlet. On the other hand, the mainstream press, as the Kerner and McBride commissions observed, is not without its own biases and influences. J. Herbert Altschull was succinct in stating the bottom line: "The content of the news reflects the ideology of those who finance the press."[13] Seen in this light, the only difference between the mainstream paper and its tribal counterpart is the source of control. The mainstream is as controlled by its advertisers, who are not without political interests, as the tribal press is by government. In fact, the mainstream press in this country is not entirely free of government subsidy. National Public Radio relies on appropriations from Congress, and newspapers enjoy government subsidy in the form of reduced postage rates and exemption from some sales tax.[14]

Despite the limitations inherent in the marriage of necessity between the press and its revenue source -- be it governmental or commercial -- the wheels of journalism do turn. Conscientious journalists strive to deliver what the Hutchins Commission urged and the audience expects, an accurate and fair accounting of events. Many journalists agree that true objectivity, which originated in substantial part as a means to mass market newspapers, is an unrealistic ideal. Nevertheless, the principles behind it -- impartial news accounts to serve the public interest -- continue to be a driving force in the practices of journalism.[15] Objective facts are still the backbone of journalism, but context and perspective are needed to arrive at an "authentic interpretation" of the facts.[16] This study examined the constraints government ownership places on the tribal journalist and the effect of the limitations on the journalist's central role -- striving to "tell the truth" or, as some prefer, "the whole story."

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[12] John C. Merrill, *Global Journalism,* (New York: Longman 1983) 84.

[13] Altschull 272.

[14] Wasserman 35.

The watchdog stories cited above would tend to refute the assumption that tribal papers are have no legitimacy as news outlets, but to further explore whether the papers' role is that of advocate or adversary, interviewees were asked if they had written any stories or been involved in any stories that were controversial. They were asked to describe the story or stories and explain what made them controversial.

For three of the nine, tribal controversy did not, for the most part, find its way into print. All three of these papers relied on governmental departments to generate all or some of the copy for the papers and could be called advocates rather than adversaries of government.

On the whole, the anecdotal evidence revealed that there is controversy that is "suitable for print" and controversy that isn't. The line lies in a different spot depending on where along the advocate/adversary continuum each paper falls. The number of articles contributed by various departments of the government versus the number reported by newspaper staff provides an indication of where along the continuum a paper falls. The Zuni paper, which is completely comprised of articles contributed by government departments -- the tribal police department for example --represents one end of the spectrum. The *Navajo Times*, which is predominantly reported by the paper's staff, represents the other, more adversarial, end.

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[15] Lambeth 64.

[16] Lambeth 66.

Of the eight papers with staffs that write stories, only one is read prior to publication by government officials outside of the newspaper staff. Editors at two of the papers, however, hold other positions in tribal government. At one of these papers the journalist interviewed indicated that a degree of censorship resulted; but this was not the case at the other paper. And a third paper indicated that the administration's view was the only viewpoint represented in the paper. Out of the eight newspapers with formats that could provide a forum for airing of controversial issues, controversy was off limits at just three. By and large, the journalists interviewed have learned by experience where the administration in power draws the line when it comes to covering controversial issues.

When a reporter does decide to wade into controversy the consequences must be weighed for both the journalist and the source. Tribal political controversy is most often, though not always, off limits and could result in repercussion for the reporter and the reporter's sources. Tribal elections can also be controversial. It is a common practice for political candidates from outside the administration in power to buy ad space to voice their viewpoints. Similarly, individuals or groups sometimes resort to buying advertising space in which to criticize or question the tribal government's position or activities.

Controversy that is not potentially damaging to the tribal government is another story. Reporters are more likely to have free rein to go after controversy concerning, for example, the state or federal government or biased media coverage of an issue affecting the tribe. Whatever the controversy, the journalists interviewed seemed to be aware of the parameters within which they worked. Of course, to some extent all journalists are aware of certain boundaries, but in the case of the tribal journalists the range is much more limited as the following excerpts illustrate:

> There are some things that have appeared in this paper that I've had my chain jerked because it was not quite what the tribal administration was interested in seeing in their newspaper. . . .I've learned more and more about what I can and can't do. And really, I look at this as being more of a house organ and I was hired in that context so I don't have any real problems with that. Curt Gustafson, *Fort Apache Scout*

Others implied that prior restraint, self-imposed or otherwise, insured that controversy didn't find its way into the paper:

> I don't think I've ever been involved with controversy to tell you the truth, because I know (the editor) will not let me become involved. Dedre Millich, *Southern Ute Drum*

> I think there are some stories that maybe didn't get as indepth as they should have. (Name withheld by request.)

Moving further along the continuum from an advocacy role to an adversarial one, there are cases when the journalists did not hesitate to go headlong into political controversy.

> The lieutenant governor of the tribe owned a smoke shop on the reservation, and he ramrodded through the tribal council a piece of legislation, a tax break, that reduced the tax rate for his own particular business only. And we ran a story about that. The rest of the merchants on the reservation started complaining and that piece of legislation was rescinded. Stanley Throssel, *Gila River Indian News*

But tackling controversy is not often without consequence:

> It had to do with the tribal administration last year when three top members of the administration were in Gallup but actually went drinking and came back and several people acknowledged that they were drunk. I reported it, and they were really upset. It really caused a lot of problems because they were top administration within the government. They denied the whole thing and went as far as going to court, but -- for lack of evidence -- it was thrown out. But, as a result, people that I used in my story that worked (for this administration) at the time are all doing other things now. . . . I used them all as unidentified sources but, through the court system and through word-of-mouth gossiping up at the office, they found out who they were. . . .They were more or less phased out of their jobs. . . .I felt really bad about it. It was something they felt that needed to be brought out, and I agreed with them. Tom Arviso, *Navajo Times*

The controversial watchdog story about the boy who sacrificed his life to save his relatives from a fire, cited earlier, was also written at some risk to the reporter's source.

> I'd have to say it was that wood stove story. I escaped a degree of it, but it almost lead to the dismissal of the fire chief because he was one of the main persons interviewed

> in that story. . . . From what I heard it came close to HUD saying, "All right, no more homes built for the time being." Curt Gustavson, *Fort Apache Scout*

Another problematic situation for tribal journalists involved in controversy is the tribal setting itself, where the journalist may be related to the people involved in the controversy. In this particular case, the source of the controversy, the source for the story and the reporter were all members of the same family.

> I guess it is what's happening in one of the villages, the village where I come from. There's a certain group of people in that village that want to remain so traditional that they're more or less conducting business in a dictator type of government. I did one story on that. At that time, we had a reporter there and she was also from the same village that I was from. . . . She had me help her with the story because she belonged to the family that was in the leadership position. And she got a lot of flack from her family for that. . . . She was mainly getting the information from her own family members, the ones who would talk. But the person who was kind of leading the group, who was a real close cousin of hers, was just treating her like she was just an outcast of the family. Alice Kewenvoyouma, *Hopi Tutu-Veh-Ni*[17]

Another journalist acknowledged the precarious position the newspaper can find itself in when controversy involves relatives on either side of the issue.

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[17] The Hopi tribe is segmented into villages, which are autonomous units and are more representative of the tribe's traditional way of governance.

> What we try and do is be as accurate as possible. And if there is something controversial, we handle it in a dignified manner rather than pitting one relative against another, which is not problem solving. Mary Polanco, *Jicarilla Chieftan*

One tribal paper has seen the far end of adversarial spectrum. When the *Navajo Times TODAY* in 1987 reported questionable spending of tax dollars for the newly elected tribal chairman Peter MacDonald's inaugural ball, MacDonald retaliated by shutting the paper down and firing the entire staff. The paper had not supported MacDonald's election bid. Eventually the newspaper was resurrected as a weekly complete with a new editor. MacDonald was ousted in 1989 and when supporters attempted to reinstate him, a riot broke out. During the riot, in which two MacDonald supporters were killed, protesters targeted the newspaper, which was viewed as playing a role in the chairman's downfall.[18] He has since been tried in tribal and federal court and is now serving a 14-year sentence in federal prison in Pennsylvania.

> I got my tires slashed. I was threatened. They broke my windshield wipers. They had a big riot, a big march down here, and they wanted to kick me and (a reporter, who was running the paper at the time)'s butt. They had loud speakers saying, 'Come on out after us.' My staff blazed out the back of the building. I just locked the door, and I stood there and I just sat in my office just waiting for them to bust a window or something. They never did. They would throw rocks at us at conferences. Old ladies would spit on us. It was gross. You hated to go to the things. But you had to get the story. We were marked people for a long time. Tom Arviso, *Navajo Times*

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[18] "Prosecutors move to dismiss charges against remaining riot defendants." *Navajo Times* 5 Aug. 1993, 1-2.

Losing a job or being shunned by family members is a high price for journalist and informant alike to pay. Tribal government casts a wide net on the reservation. It is often the predominant provider of jobs and social services. In small, tightly woven communities like these, dissension can be a delicate matter. Before these journalists sit down to write, they must weigh the benefits of exposing controversy versus the ramifications for all involved, and that can include informants and their relatives, the journalist and possibly the paper itself. The decision to back away from a controversial story may have less to do with direct government censorship and more to do with self-censorship on the part of the journalist acting to maintain the community's equilibrium:

> Mentioning names and that kind of thing is kind of hard for us to do because this community is very close. Norman Lopez, *Weenuche Smoke Signals*

Access to Government

Just how restrictive is this relationship between the press and government? On one level, it appears that the government is very much in the sunshine. Only one paper indicated that access to government was limited. Two said that access to government was somewhat limited. Half indicated that, in general, no doors were closed to them. No one had trouble attending meetings, except executive sessions. Only two people indicated that they sometimes have difficulty seeing government documents such as budgets or cost accounting. While these journalists are free to see any documents or attend any meetings, they are not necessarily unfettered when it comes time to write. Only one respondent indicated complete freedom to write about the tribal government. This awareness of what "can and can't be written" coupled with the fact that the government is not directly involved in day-to-day editing of stories, points to government control of an indirect sort that manifests itself in self-censorship.

While the government is open on one hand, by virtue of its pervasiveness it is also in control. Not only does the tribal government own the paper, it also controls the reservation economy because, typically, it either directly or indirectly administers most of the jobs and social programs. The effect is one of self-censorship on the part of the journalists, who are sensitive to their own job status as well as that of their sources. There is hardly a story that does not, on some level, involve tribal government. A second element that contributes to self-censorship, and often goes along with government control, has more to do with the small-town nature of the reservations. Respondents indicated that controversy can involve relatives making the journalist inclined to self-censorship rather than risk being ostracized

Voice of the people or voice of the power structure ?

As a further measure of the papers' relationship to the government and community, the journalists were asked whether they felt their paper was the voice of the power structure or the voice of the people. Only two of the journalists responded that their paper was the voice of their people. Both of these papers have a higher percentage of reporter-written news stories and both fall on the adversarial end of the spectrum for this group of papers. Most said their papers were both the voice of the people and the power structure. Three said that their papers were the voice of the power structure. Only one respondent who said that the paper was the voice of the power structure also said the paper did not cover controversy.

These journalists seem to harbor no illusions about their limitations with regard to covering the tribal government. More coverage of tribal government and more editorial freedom were high on their lists of changes for their papers. For the most part, tribal governments seem to be *laissez faire* in terms of the day-to-day news gathering process. On the other hand, there is evidence that the journalists are aware of the conflict inherent in their role as both news people and government employees. They are also aware of how the tribal government is entwined in the lives of most reservation residents. In general, the awareness of the hand that feeds them and the rest of the reservation, as well, dictates a degree of self censorship.

Prospects for independence

What if the paper became independent? Would editorial freedom come at the expense of access to government? The journalists were asked if they would prefer to trade government funding for advertising funding and how their relationship to government would change if they did. By a two-thirds majority, the respondents said they would prefer independence. Only one paper, however, indicated that this would be practical, because the local economy could support the paper through advertising. Whether independence would jeopardize the journalists' access to government, however, was a matter of debate. Three respondents said yes, they felt access would be more limited, but the same number said they thought nothing would change. Two were unsure and one did not answer the question. One respondent did a good job of putting the issue into perspective:

> That would all depend on who's running the government. You get somebody in there that's like MacDonald and definitely we're going to have problems. He would go out of his way to censor certain things. He would make sure that certain things would get in the paper or if they didn't, you would be under a lot of pressure to do something and your job was on the line. That's not happening now, and I don't see that happening any more. I don't see why it would change. Tom Arviso, *Navajo Times*

Again, the continuum of press freedom as determined by the administration in power emerges as a fact of life for tribal journalists. Stanley Throssell was able to do more than just speculate about the consequences of independence. His experience at the *Papago Runner*, which is now out of print, frames the question of independence in a practical context.

For five years, the *Papago Runner* was government owned, like the papers sampled for this study. Over a three-year period, the paper gradually earned its independence. When it became independent of the Tohono O'Odham tribal government, the paper was able to operate without fear of tribal government retribution. One of the more controversial stories it was able to print, for example, involved the tribal chairman, who was accused of sexual misconduct with five women on the reservation. The tribal leader eventually suffered two heart attacks and had to give up his office. Having been in the unusual situation of working for a paper that was first government-owned and then independent, gives Throssell unique insight into the advantages and disadvantages of independence.

> While the *Papago Runner* was operating as a tribal operation, even during the transition period, when it was only partly a tribal operation, there was some self-imposed censorship, I think. I didn't cover certain things I thought might bother the people in power. When the constraints were off, well what's the worst they could do? Not much.
> Stanley Throssell, former editor *Papago Runner*

But the paper did not last long on its own because the local advertising base was not strong enough to support it. It is interesting to note that Throssell was the only one to respond negatively when asked if advertising funding would be a preferable source of revenue to government funding at the *Gila River Indian News*, which he is contracted to publish.[19] And he was the only one to concede that advertising support might actually be a viable option for that paper. Even though advertising support was an option for this particular tribal paper, past experience taught Throssell that trading the relative financial security of government ownership for the freedom afforded by advertising was not worth risking the paper. Throssell's experience with an advertising-supported tribal paper makes a case for independence as an ideal that lacks practical underpinnings.

Censorship is a subtle factor in the life of a tribal journalist. For the most part, it is not a case of direct government involvement in the news, though the possibility lingers. On the surface, the press-government relationship is one in which all of the doors are open. Documents and meetings are open, and the government does not engage in prior restraint.

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[19] Stanley Throssell owns Stanley Publications in Sacaton, Arizona. With assistance from tribal staff, Throssell writes stories and oversees production of several tribal publications including the Gila River Indian News.

It doesn't have to. The anecdotal evidence indicates that the journalists engage in self-censorship so as not to jeopardize themselves or their sources. Exceptions are made, however, when the importance of the story outweighs the potential retribution as in the case of the story about the drunken government officials. Nevertheless, experience teaches tribal journalists where the administration draws the line, as evidenced by one respondent's reference to having his "chain jerked" by the administration. If they cross that line, the journalists must be prepared to accept the consequences, which could affect both the journalist and the source and ultimately could jeopardize the paper itself, as in the case of the Hopi paper.

Mainstream coverage

Given the constraints on editorial freedom expressed by the tribal journalists, one wonders if the business of adversarial reporting is better left to mainstream news outlets while the tribal papers concentrate on the popular human interest, cultural stories and local on-reservation events. These journalists were asked to comment on news coverage of their communities by the mainstream. Judging by their responses, mainstream coverage of the reservations is inadequate. In fact, a pattern emerged in the anecdotes about experiences with mainstream reporting that indicates the tribal paper often finds itself "mopping up" after incomplete or biased treatment in the mainstream media.

The predominant complaint was that mainstream coverage is event oriented rather than issue oriented. Reporters come to the reservation when there is a natural disaster or tragedy, gather information, take pictures and disappear until the next event. All too often, the reporters' unfamiliarity with the tribe and reservation results in misinformation and perpetuation of stereotypes. Similar observations have been made of mainstream coverage of developing countries. Under this media imperialism, news is prepared for the dominant society without regard for the needs of or effect on the developing country. As a result, stories tend to be sensationalized, emphasizing the exotic for its entertainment value rather than concentrating on the real issues and their relevance to the people affected.[20] The following excerpts illustrate the mainstream's shortcomings in covering the reservation:

> They usually come in when there is controversy, and they come in when there is sensationalism. They usually come in when there is a cultural event when they can write it from their very, very narrow point of view and have absolutely no respect for us. They treat us like a museum piece because they are non-Indian, White, and might is right. I have a very, very dim view of some of my fellow journalists. A very dim view. Mary Polanco, *Jicarilla Chieftain*

> Generally the coverage is pretty good, but it's infrequent. It only occurs when there is an issue or an act of nature that requires it be covered, things like that. . . .My experience has been that Indian communities get so little news about themselves, they know more about what's going on in state and national news than they do about what's going on in their own communities. Stanley Throssell, *Gila River Indian News*

> There is not enough mainstream coverage of what the Native American people go through. And their stories are pretty much generic. They don't get the meat of what's actually going on, mainly because they are catering to their readership. . . .When we had the riots here in '89 everybody was here. CNN and all the newspapers from all over, the L.A.

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[20] Altschull 220.

> *Times*, *New York Times*, they were all here during the riots. And they all wanted to get the blood and gore. . . .And they were only here for a day and a half. And after it calmed down, they all left, they disappeared, gone. . . .They get their little bits and pieces from you about what they want and that's it. Tom Arviso, *Navajo Times*

Another failing of reporters from outside is the tendency to take as credible any person who appears to be a tribal member, especially older members of the tribe. True, the individual chosen for comment may have an understanding of the issue at hand or may provide a colorful lay person's interpretation. But often the colorful quote becomes the only source for a complicated issue such as water rights or subsistence hunting rights. The question would be better put to someone in the tribal government with the background and expertise to provide accurate information. It is unlikely that this approach would be taken in a similar situation off the reservation.

> They tend to believe people right off the cuff and don't substantiate what they actually say. . . .So they'll go to this old lady, and this old lady will shoot her mouth off, and then they'll print it. Everybody knows this lady's crazier than hell. Tom Arviso, *Navajo Times*.

General insensitivity to the culture classified another recurring complaint. Asked what advice they would offer unfamiliar reporters coming onto the reservation the resounding theme was sensitivity.

> Some people came out to photograph, and I'm still not sure what they were doing it for, but they came right in and went right to this family's home. I think they had a sweat lodge out there, and they wanted to go take pictures. They just barged in and didn't say what they were doing it for. . .

> .Stuff like that. They just come in, and they take pictures of the kids playing out there. I'm sure they can do it on the outside (off the reservation), but here it's a little bit more, I don't know what you would call it, but you just don't do those things. You ask the people first before you do things like that. (Name withheld by request.)
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> The best advice is just to come and stay about two years; and then when people start trusting you, then you can get your story. But still, it's not that impossible. I know some free lance reporters who come on (the reservation) but still they're more skilled at being sensitive to the culture. And I think it just gets down to being a sensitive person. You come on (the reservation) like some aggressive *New York Times*, *Washington Post* reporter, you get bounced out of here real quick. Curt Gustafson, *Fort Apache Scout*
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> I think that, number one, reporters who come here and want to speak to people need to bring gifts. . . .If you want to talk to a spiritual leader, you take him tobacco. Or if you want to speak to an elderly woman, you take her a little something, some candy cigarettes, whatever. Dedre Millich, *Southern Ute Drum*
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> The only thing that we are trying to do is keep our children safe. There is certain information especially in written culture and religion where these kids know that certain things are like this. And so when we have reporters coming out here, we like them to ask their questions to adults because they may give them information like, "Are your kachina dancers masked men?" A lot of these questions are asked of children, and it stuns them because they are not supposed to know these things until a certain age. Alice Kewenvoyouma, *Hopi Tutu-Veh-Ni*

Infrequency of coverage, unfamiliarity with the issues and insensitivity to the culture make strong arguments against leaving tribal news coverage to mainstream outlets. Additionally, events such as local high school sports and rodeo, mainstays of the tribal paper, might not get covered at all by a larger off-reservation paper. There may be another less tangible reason that justifies the existence of the tribal paper - - emotional attachment.

> We've been under the tribe for so long we've kind of just adjusted to that. Mary Polanco, *Jicarilla Chieftan*

> Personally, I'd love to see us on our own. But we would still do the same thing that we are doing, which is serving our readership. . . .A lot of the tribal leaders and the old council and the old people feel that the (tribal paper) is a big part of the tribe. As the tribal government has grown, the newspaper has always been there. . . .It's like a cousin or something. They don't want to see it go off on its own. Tom Arviso, *Navajo Times*

Conclusions

> Remember how we were talking about the mainstream media and how they show up here and they don't understand? Maybe one way we could fix that is if we had more of our own people in the field of journalism. We could tell our own stories. Tom Arviso, *Navajo Times*

Tribal newspapers are one place where Native Americans tell their stories. The tribal papers' contents and even appearance represent their version of what is important as they, like any people, go about the every day business of making sense of their world. In weaving a contemporary narrative, these journalists take information from their communities and give it back in a way that, in their view, contributes to the good of the tribe. On one level, tribal journalists are no different from their counterparts anywhere else in the world and, like all journalists, are also agents of those in control. In the case of the tribal press it's the tribal government, a fact that is not lost on the tribal journalists interviewed for this study. All but two said that their paper was the voice of the power structure.

This study set out to examine the implications of tribal ownership for tribal journalists and hoped to find enough common ground among the nine newspapers studied to draw conclusions about the nature of the relationship and its effect on content. Yes, there were commonalties. In terms of access, the relationship with the government is good, but when it comes to editorial freedom there are limits. Rather than challenge the government and risk their jobs or even their paper, tribal journalists prefer to exercise self-censorship operating within the boundaries established by the administration in control. This press-government relationship had caused others to write off the tribal press as nothing more than a propaganda device. But a central aim of this study was to avoid letting mainstream definitions of journalism cloud an examination of the tribal press. Instead the aim was to listen to the journalists describe their role in their words and to view the tribal press, to as great a degree as possible, in its environment.

Hearing their stories, it became evident that the tribal newspaper was indeed more than a government public relations publication, though that element is present. Working within the implications of the press/government relationship and the government's pervasive role as the major employer and provider of social services, the tribal journalists played three roles: curator of culture, community supporter and watchdog.

The watchdog role presented the most risk to source and reporter alike, but in cases where the community good outweighed the potential for government retribution, or in cases where the government wasn't involved these journalists told their stories. While the roles of cultural curator and community supporter, are less likely to draw fire from the tribal government, that does not discount their importance. Stories of the people, events and traditions of the tribe are what give the tribal paper its character. The emphasis on traditional tribal history, a topic included in all of the papers studied, is an integral part of the journalist's connection with the community. It is not surprising that these tribal papers embody their tribes. Tribal members account for the majority of employees and hold the majority of the leadership positions at the papers studied.

Just as the tribal paper must be viewed in the context of the reservation environment, recommendations must be made with the same in mind, if they are to be realistic. It can be said that the strength of the tribal papers studied is in their tribal perspective. They are often the only source of information on tribal events from elections to rodeos. Financial dependence on the tribal government is their weakness. A simple solution would be to eliminate the dependence on government funding. All of the journalists interviewed for this study indicated that they would like to trade government support for independence. But, at one tribal paper where financial ties to the government were cut and editorial freedom was won, the paper went out of business for lack of advertising revenue. And leaving coverage of the tribe to mainstream news outlets would be inappropriate as indicated by the criticism of the mainstream press as insensitive to and ill informed about the tribal culture.

Among the papers included in this study, government funding seems to be a fact of life on the reservation. The question then is how to better the publications within the press/government relationship. With winning editorial freedom as the single most important goal, the challenge lies in moving toward that goal along a path that does not depart from the paper's tribal identity. Education offers the best chance for achieving this end.

The working journalists it seems could provide role models by assisting with production of school papers or providing space in the tribal paper for a student column or page. Summer internships could also foster an interest in journalism. At local community colleges and tribal colleges, media foundations could provide funding for journalism programs. For example, a Native American journalist on a semester-long grant could teach a reporting class and work with an interested college newspaper. If the college does not have a paper, perhaps grant money and expertise could be provided to start one. Another suggestion would be to create a partnership program with a mainstream newspaper in which reporters and editors would participate in a guest lecture series.

Tribal leaders also need to be educated about the value of a free press, but it seems unlikely that they will champion the cause themselves unless the demand comes from the tribal members, making it politically expedient. This is not say that educational forums with tribal leaders would not be recommended, but in terms of long term, systemic change the process needs to start from the ground up. Again, youth education and involvement in newspapers will create an awareness of the paper's role and importance. Additionally, education about the failings of mainstream coverage of tribal affairs may also help to teach the value of the tribal press. The Native American Journalists Association is helping with programs to encourage youth participation in journalism and increase awareness about unsatisfactory mainstream news coverage. NAJA offers scholarships and sponsors an intensive summer workshop for students. The association also acts as a watchdog on the mainstream media, drawing attention to the proliferation of misinformation and inadequate press coverage generated by the mainstream. Annual conferences address a full spectrum of issues facing the Native American press from graphic design to First Amendment rights on reservations.

While it was not a primary aim of this study to examine mainstream coverage of the reservations, the tribal journalists were forthcoming in their criticism of the mainstream media. Charges of cultural insensitivity point to a flaw in mainstream news gathering that needs to be addressed if the media is to fulfill its mission of fairness in a multi-cultural and global society. An exchange program between tribal and mainstream newspapers may work well locally, but the anecdotal evidence indicates that the problem exists in the national media, as well. New efforts must be made to educate all journalists about cultural sensitivity. It is incumbent upon journalism schools and media foundations to educate would-be and working journalists about culturally sensitive news coverage. An example of just such an effort was the University of New Mexico and the Ethics and Excellence in Journalism Foundation conference on cross-cultural communication, "Putting Respect into Journalism," which was held in April 1994 in Albuquerque. The conference focused on the failings of mainstream coverage of Native Americans.[21] A topic of discussion at the conference was national media coverage of an outbreak of the hanta-virus the year before, which killed several young Navajo.[22] In April of 1990 in Sioux Falls, South Dakota at the Media and the American Indian conference, the American Indian Media Image Task Force was assembled and charged with assembling a reference guide for the mainstream media, which was published in the next year. *The American Indian and the Media*, is an eighty-four page collection of essays and references. The momentum from efforts such as the work of this task force should be carried forward with continued dialog between Native Americans and the mainstream media.[23]

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[21] Michael Haederle, "Bias in stories about Navajos alleged at NM ethics forum," *The Dallas Morning News*, 30 April,1994, 36.

While in most cases economics dictates that a tribal paper be fully subsidized that does not rule out the possibility of an independent tribal paper. *Indian Country Today*, in South Dakota, is a daily paper aimed at covering Indian affairs nationwide. In serving a broad market, editor Tim Giago has been successful in selling advertising and has also won subsidy from the private sector, which might well be a viable alternative to government subsidy, and the concept of a paper with a regional scope that includes several tribes may help garner more advertising dollars. But this type of regional format might also come at the expense of the character of the individual papers.

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[22] While health officials were trying to determine the cause of the chain of deaths, the Navajo Nation received national media attention. The hanta-virus coverage, which was dubbed the "Navajo flu" by several leading media outlets across the country including *USA Today*, brought the cross-cultural communication issue to the fore. Research for this study was completed just prior to the out break of the hanta virus. Several articles have been written about the media's handling of the incident including Tim Giago's story "'Navajo flu' and press insensitivity," which appeared in *The San Francisco Examiner*, November 6, 1993.

[23] James Fisher makes recommendations for the mainstream media coverage of Navajos in "Challenges in Cross-Cultural Journalism: The Navajo Tradition as Case Exemplar," which also highlights the failings of the mainstream.

In finding commonalities among a group of Southwestern tribal papers and shared experiences among the journalists who produce them, this study documented a baseline that is intended to lay the groundwork and provide insight for further research. It is my hope that this study has helped to bring a better understanding of the tribal newspaper to those who may not have known they existed and to those who may have written them off as little more than propaganda. This study found tribal papers to be true community newspapers made by and for tribal members and offering a narrative reflective of, but not a substitution for other means of preserving Native American social life and culture. In conclusion, the issue of editorial freedom at tribal papers is a complex one, for which there are no simple solutions. The tribal paper is an imperfect entity but it does meet an informational need in the community in a way that no other media does. The challenge lies in moving the tribal press toward editorial freedom drawing on a mainstream model, but without sacrificing the cultural character of the publication. To merely superimpose the mainstream model would limit the paper's effectiveness in communicating with the people it serves. Meeting the challenge will best be done through education - of tribal leaders, youth, working journalists and the mainstream media.

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Appendix A

Survey

I. General background information about the publication

Name of reservation________________________

Name of publication________________________

Phone number____________

This survey completed by (name, job title)__________________________________

1. Who owns this publication?

____

2. Since what year have they owned it?____________

Who owned the publication before the date above?______________________

3. What year was this publication first published? ________

4. How is this publication funded?(show percentages)

__tribal gov't appropriations __federal funds __advertising (check here__ if ad money goes directly to tribal gov't treasury) __donations or grants from corporations __donations from private individuals __don't know

5. How often is your newspaper published?

__daily __weekly __biweekly __monthly

___other,specify:______________________

6. Do you own your own press?__yes __no

If no, who prints your paper and where is it printed?

____

If yes, Do you paginate it on the computer or does it get pasted-up by hand? ____________________________

What brand of computers do you use?________________

What pagination program do you use?__QuarkXpress __Pagemaker ___other, Specify:_____________

If paginated, in what year did you start? _______

7. How many full-time people are employed by your newspaper?____

How many are full time newsroom staff? (fill in number) __reporter(s), __editor(s), __photographer(s) ___staff members share responsibility for reporting, editing and photo

How many of the full-time newsroom staff are not members of this reservation's tribe(s)?____

8. How many part-time people are employed by your newspaper?____

How many are newsroom staff? (fill in number) __reporter(s), __editor(s), __photographer(s) ___staff shares responsibility for reporting, editing and photo

How many of the part-time newsroom staff are not members of this reservation's tribe(s)? _____

9. How many issues of each paper do you usually print?_____

10. On average, what percentage of the space in your newspaper is advertising?___________%

11. Is this paper available for sale off the reservation to the general public?__yes __no

12. What is the annual subscription rate? ______

13. How much does a single copy cost? ________

14. What portion of your readership is made up of tribal members?

Readership is: __exclusively tribal __mostly tribal __about half tribal __mostly non-tribal __exclusively non-tribal ___don't know

15. What language(s) does your paper use? ______________

16.What is the reservation population?________

Of the number above ________ are tribal members and ________ are non-tribal members.

17.What is the literacy rate on the reservation?_______

18. What is the annual operating budget for the paper?_____

19. If you don't know any of the above who could I ask for the information?

____

II. Demographics and background of the journalist

WHAT IS YOUR NAME?(please spell it out)___________________
GENDER? ___male ____female
WHAT IS YOUR AGE? _____ refused___
MARITAL STATUS? __single ___married ___divorced ___widowed ___separated
ARE YOU A MEMBER OF A RECOGNIZED TRIBE? ___yes __no
IF YES, WHICH ONE? _________________________________
ARE YOU A MEMBER OF A CLAN? __yes __no
WHICH ONE?____________________________________
IF YOU ARE NOT A NATIVE AMERICAN, WHAT IS YOUR ETHNIC BACKGROUND?
__African American __Asian American __Hispanic American __other ___no answer
DO YOU SPEAK THE LANGUAGE OF THIS TRIBE? __yes __no ARE YOU ___fluent ___somewhat fluent ___know a little of the language

WHAT IS YOUR JOB TITLE AT THE NEWSPAPER AND WHAT IS YOUR MAIN RESPONSIBILITY?
job title______________________
responsibility____
YEARS IN THIS JOB? ___

***IN WHAT YEAR DID YOU BEGIN WORKING FOR THIS NEWSPAPER?year:____________

HOW MANY YEARS HAVE YOU BEEN IN JOURNALISM?_________

***BEFORE COMING TO WORK FOR THIS NEWSPAPER DID YOU HAVE OTHER JOBS IN JOURNALISM? __yes __no

1.____
2.____
3.____

OUTSIDE OF YOUR JOB WITH THIS PAPER, ARE YOU INVOLVED IN TRIBAL GOVERNMENT IN ANY OTHER CAPACITY? __yes __no

IF YES, WHAT DO YOU DO AND WHAT ARE YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES?

gov't job________________

responsibilities_____________

WERE YOU : __elected by tribal members __elected by tribal government __appointed __hired __ volunteer?

RIGHT NOW, DO YOU HOLD ANY OTHER JOBS OUTSIDE THE NEWSPAPER?__yes __no

LIST OTHER JOBS

1.____________________________________
2.______________________________________

WHAT WAS THE LAST LEVEL OF SCHOOL YOU COMPLETED?

__some high school or less __high school __some college __graduated from college ___ some graduate work ___ advanced degree(s)

IF COLLEGE GRAD: WHAT WAS YOUR UNDERGRADUATE DEGREE IN? _________________

FROM WHAT COLLEGE?________________________________

IF GRADUATE WORK OR DEGREE, WHAT FIELD WAS YOUR ADVANCED DEGREE OR GRADUATE WORK IN?___________________

FROM WHICH UNIVERSITY?_____________________________

IF NOT HOLDING A JOURNALISM DEGREE - DID YOU TAKE ANY COLLEGE COURSES IN JOURNALISM?__yes ___no IF YES, HOW MANY COURSES?____

DO YOU HAVE ANY TRAINING IN JOURNALISM? __workshops __internships __other,

specify____
____
____

DO YOU LIVE ON THIS RESERVATION? __yes __no

IF YES, HOW MANY YEARS HAVE YOU LIVED ON THIS RESERVATION?___

IF NO, DID YOU EVER LIVE ON THE RESERVATION? __yes __no

IF NO, HOW CLOSE TO THE RESERVATION DO YOU LIVE?_______________

IF NO, WHY DO YOU LIVE OFF THE RESERVATION?

____

HOW MANY YEARS HAVE YOU LIVED OFF THE RESERVATION?____

IN WHICH CATEGORY DID YOUR SALARY FALL LAST YEAR?

__Below $10,000
__Between $10,000 and 15, 000
__Between $15,000 and 20,000
__Between 20,000 and 25,000
__Between 25,000 and 30,000
__Between 30,000 and 35,000
__Between 35,000 and 40,000
__Between 40,000 and 45,000
__Between 45,000 and 50,000
__Over 50,000?
__ refused

III. Journalist's and newspaper's role in the community

1. What percentage of your time is spent writing stories, including interviewing and gathering information, as opposed to doing the rest of your job whether it's, say, editing, typing up other people's stories?

2. What are your three favorite stories you wrote in the past year? What was it about these stories that you liked the most?

3. What is the most controversial story you've been involved with? What made it controversial? What happened?

4. What do you like best about your job? Why?

5.What do you least like about it? Why?

*6. Do you have regular, specific news beats for your paper? What are they? (check off those that apply)

politics and gov't
health
natural resource matters
sports
cultural events
youth activities
education(scholarships, degrees earned etc.)
activities of the aged
history
cops and courts
other (specify)

7.Does your paper subscribe to a wire or news service? Which ones? How do you mix in news wire service reports in your paper? What do you select?

*8. What is the nature of your tribal government? Are you incorporated under 1934 Indian Reorganization Act? What does your tribal constitution say about the press? How does this apply to you in your day to day work?

9. Who decides whether a story will appear in the paper? Who edits the stories that appear in the paper?

*10. How and where do you get the information to report the deliberations and activities of your tribal government? (does the tribal chairman provide articles? do you go to committee meetings and report proceedings, are all meetings open to you? always?) Are there limits on what you put into print concerning tribal government? Do you ever refer to government documents such as budgets or expense records in your stories and do you ever have trouble getting access to any of these? Can you give me specific examples?

*11. How do you report the activities and observances of the tribal cultural year? Are there limits on what you put into print? What about photos?

**12. What personal experiences have you had with off-reservation papers covering your community? Did they get the story right? Did they handle the story differently than you would have on your own? Were they fair? Did they offend any tribal members either in the way they got their information or printed it? What advice would you offer off-reservation papers trying to cover a story on the reservation? Would there be certain taboos, say about private names or dead people, that you would want to make an unfamiliar journalist aware of?

13. How does the newspaper you work for differ from the local off reservation papers? Do you, as a tribal reporter, have access that other reporters don't or wouldn't have? (documents, officials, meetings, people in general, photography)

14. What about sports coverage? What events do you usually cover? (high school sports, rodeo, running races what else?)

15. Would you prefer to exchange tribal funding for advertising funding to support the paper? Why? How would your relationship with the tribal government change if your paper didn't rely on government funding? Would you still have the same access to tribal government?

16. What percentage of the reservation would you guess reads your paper? Who are your readers? Do you hear from them? Is there any group in particular that you feel is not reached by your paper? Why? Is literacy a factor? (Is the paper's impact community-wide?)

**17. Is the tribal paper often the only newspaper people in your community read? Why or why not? Where else do they get news? Before there was a tribal paper how did people get "news"? Do people still get news this way?

*18. Do you think that your paper is perceived as the voice of the people or the voice of the power structure?

IV. Goals and aspirations

19. How did you get this job? Do you think that you'll be doing this type of work in five years or so? Why or why not?

20. Would you like to work for a bigger paper off the reservation? why or why not? (If worked in the mainstream--How does working for the tribal paper compare to working for a bigger off-reservation paper? Which did you like best?).

21 If you could change anything about your paper, what would you change? (would you hire more staff?, change design?, become independent?)

22. Do you have an sense whether young people here are interested in one day working on a paper? Does your paper go to local schools? Does the high school have a paper? Do you know if there are classes in journalism at the high school? Is there a career day-type program that includes the tribal paper? Do you ever speak to school kids about your job?

###

---

* Richard LaCourse suggested these questions.

** Jim Fisher suggested these questions.

*** From David Weaver and Cleveland Wilhoit's 1986 study, *The American Journalist.*

Appendix B

The tribal papers

(attached are sample front pages reduced to fit 8.5" x 11" paper)

A:Shiwi Awan Tsina:I:Shokwinne
Zuni tribal monthly
Zuni, New Mexico
Issues printed: 150
Published since: 1964

Au-Authum Action News
Pima-Maricopa tribal monthly
Salt River Reservation
Scottsdale, Arizona
Issues printed: 1,800
Published since: 1975

Fort Apache Scout
Whiteriver Apache tribal biweekly
Fort Apache Reservation
Whiteriver, Arizona
Issues printed: 2,600
Published since: 1962

Gila River Indian News
Gila River tribal monthly
Gila River Indian Community
Sacaton, Arizona
Issues printed: 2,000
Published since: 1985

Hopi Tutu-Veh-Ni
Hopi tribal biweekly
Kykotsmovi, Arizona
Issues printed: 5,000
Published since: 1985

Jicarilla Chieftain
Jicarilla Apache tribal biweekly
Jicarilla Apache Reservation
Dulce, New Mexico
Issues printed: 1,100
Published since: 1962

Navajo Times
Navajo tribal weekly
Navajo Reservation
Window Rock, Arizona
Issues printed: 16,800
Published since: 1955

Southern Ute Drum
Southern Ute tribal biweekly
Southern Ute Reservation
Ignacio, Colorado
Issues printed: 1,000
Published since: 1960

Weenuche Smoke Signals (formerly *Echo*)
Ute Mountain Ute tribal monthly
Ute Mountain Reservation
Towoac, Colorado
Issues printed: 500
Published since: 1973

35¢

The Gila River Indian News

A Gila River Indian Community Publication
Sacaton, Arizona 85247

VOL 9 NO 5 MAY 10, 1993 PAGE 1

Incumbents hard to unseat in Gila River Community Council election

[illegible] Spencer C. Thomas lost by a wide margin.

In District Five and in District Four [illegible] the incumbent was reelected. [illegible] Rod Dixon [illegible] Winners were [illegible] Dana R. Norris Sr. and [illegible] Edward Stone.

In District Six Christopher Soke [illegible] filling the vacancy created when [illegible] Robert [illegible] seat was declared vacant because he no longer lived in the district.

The following results were certified by the Gila River Community Council on May 5.

District One

- [illegible]
- [illegible] Thomas - [illegible]
- [illegible] Blackwater (write-in) [illegible]
- [illegible] (write-in) [illegible]
- [illegible] (write-in) [illegible]
- [illegible] (write-in) [illegible]
- [illegible] (write-in) [illegible]
- [illegible] (write-in) [illegible]

District Three

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible] Manuel [illegible]
- [illegible] (write-in) [illegible]
- [illegible] (write-in) [illegible]
- [illegible] (write-in) [illegible]

District Four

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible] Bridges - [illegible]
- [illegible] - 47
- [illegible] - 44
- Spencer C. Thomas - [illegible]
- Randy Hoyema - 28
- Roger Pedro (write-in) [illegible]
- [illegible] (write-in) [illegible]
- Greg Mendoza (write-in) - 1
- Conrad Gadd (write-in) - 1
- Neil [illegible] (write-in) - 1

District Five

- Rod Dixon - [illegible]
- Dana R. Norris Sr. - 65
- Emmett S. White - 41
- Edward Stone - 48
- Brenda L. Robertson - 27
- Danny Lewis (write-in) - 2
- Louie Kyvitan (write-in) - 2

District Six

- [illegible] B. Lopez - 23
- Christopher Soke - [illegible]
- Carlton Gill (write-in) - 1
- Terrance Evans (write-in) - 1

Restoring damaged roads, bridges is proving to be a difficult task

Restoring flood damaged roads and waterlines on the Gila River reservation is proving to be a difficult task that will take a lot of time and money.

Some progress, however, is being made. The Arizona Department of Transportation recently finalized a [illegible] to reconstruct the Gila River bridge on Arizona Highway 87, according to Cecil Antone [illegible] Land & Water Resources Department.

Work on the bridge will take up to three and a half months, Antone said. He [illegible] the reconstruction project will restore the bridge [illegible] extend or improve [illegible] damage.

[illegible]

While work on Highway 87 should be completed soon, work on Arizona Route 587 could take up to 18 months to complete, Antone said.

Work on that highway will actually extend and improve the bridge across the Gila River. A temporary crossing may be created once the river dries out, Antone said.

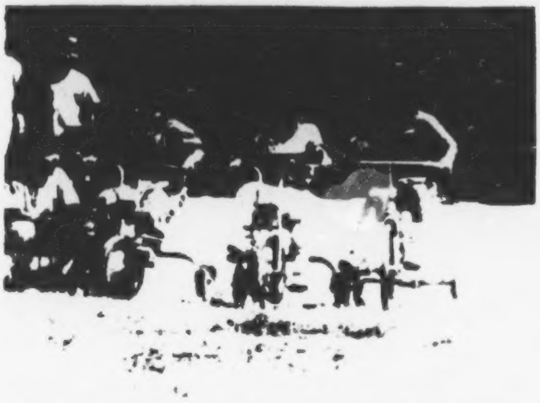
[illegible] merchants in downtown Chandler say the closing of the Route 587 crossing has hurt business and they are pushing for a temporary bridge.

District One, particularly the Blackwater Community, seems to have been hardest hit by flood damage in January. Floodwaters washed out roads, electric and phone service and took out the community's primary drinking water well and main waterlines.

Electric service and phone service has been restored. Work on the Pima-Coolidge Industrial Park Road has also been completed. But drinking water remains a problem.

See Flood damage repair...Page 2

Getting a head start on the field



A HEAD START—These young riders are getting a head start on many of their peers by being part of the tribal Head Start Program. A recruiting drive is now underway. See story on Page 3.

Tribal utility's system takeover is once again delayed, now to July

The takeover of the reservation's electric power system by the Gila River Indian Community Utility Authority has been postponed for a second time with a new takeover date set for no later than July 31.

Utility authority board chairman Joseph Manuel said completion of a [illegible] agreement with the Arizona Public Service Corporation (APS) as well as completion of the project's Environmental Assessment and the issuance of notices to San Carlos Project employees who'll be affected by the takeover, have all delayed the divestiture.

"We're trying for late June or early July," Manuel said. While a July 31 date has been set as the latest possible date, the aim is to complete the divestiture as soon as possible, he emphasized.

Congressional legislation was passed in 1991 authorizing the Gila River Indian Community to take over the reservation portion of the San Carlos Irrigation Project (SCIP) electric power [illegible]. That legislation also mandated [illegible] the divestiture take place [illegible] July 31, 1993.

Under the legislation [illegible] of the Interior was [illegible] SCIP of its electric [illegible] which is currently [illegible] the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The system serves [illegible] the Gila River and San Carlos [illegible] reservations as well as [illegible] customers. The San Carlos [illegible] take over the portion [illegible] that exists on its reservation.

See Utility authority ...Page 2

Gila River Indian News
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AU-AUTHM ACTION NEWS

"The People's Paper"

THE SALT RIVER PIMA-MARICOPA INDIAN COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER AUGUST 1993

Photo by Staff

KTNN broadcasts "Drums of Summer," at the Multi-Purpose Building featuring local drum groups and community people. Miss Salt River April Gutierrez and Janet Johnson were interviewed by KTNN's Program Director Mike Moore, the show's host. President Ivan Makil was also interviewed on the air by the show's co-host Roy Track. Southern Plains Drum and Black River Crossing sang several drum songs. Local artist David Montour electrified the airwaves with his unique style of flute-playing.

Salt River Police Asks Community Residents to Comply with Ordinance

The [illegible] for each resi- [illegible] within their own [illegible] Police Department understands and will [illegible].

But the Police Department requests your support to help prevent minor or juvenile crimes that generally occur late at night and usually when the juvenile is intoxicated.

This request is directed toward the protection and safety of our children. Residents can help us by following the recommended guidelines listed below.

[illegible] Restrict or do not have "after hour parties."

2. If you have a party, plan these at an early hour and end the party at a reasonable hour, 10:30 p.m. or midnight at the latest.

[illegible] Restrict attendance to family or friends.

[illegible] Should uninvited minors appear, particularly if the minor is intoxicated, immediately call the Police Department. Contact will be the child will be taken care of.

Remember you have assumed liability for the child if you make no attempt to identify the child and return him/her to a proper authority.

5. Do not openly display or make available any alcoholic beverages to minors.

The Salt River Tribal Law and Order Code has a Section [illegible].83, Contributing to the Delinquency of a Minor, which reads:

"Any person who by any act causes, encourages or contributes to the dependency or delinquency of a child as defined by section 11-11 or who for any cause is responsible thereof."

The Police Department will be aggressive when dealing with cases that involve our children. Please do your part to make this community a safe and healthy place to raise our children.

Any questions or concerns you may have, contact a supervisor of the Department or Chief of Police Edward Reina, Jr. at 941-7255.

Salt River Police Need Information on Unsolved Case

The Salt River Police Department is seeking information on an unsolved case.

On Sunday, August 30, 1992, sometime before 5:30 a.m., 16-year-old Vernon Gene Jones Jr. was struck by an unknown type vehicle as he was walking home. The accident occurred in the area of Country Club Road, just north of Thomas Road. Vernon died at the hospital as a result of injuries he received from this accident. The police do not have any witnesses to this accident at this time. There are no suspects or make of the vehicle is known.

If you have any information regarding this case you may contact Silent Witness at [illegible] or Toll Free at 1-800-343-[illegible].

Defense Advocate Office Offers Legal Representation to Community

The Defense Advocate Office is located in the lower level of the Justice Building, and offers legal representation to Community Members charged with a criminal offense, traffic violation(s), and Juveniles charged with an offense in the Tribal Court. We ARE NOT under or a part of the Four Rivers Indian Legal Services. WE ARE totally funded by the Tribe and are a separate department.

The advocates can appear with you for arraignments, pre-trial hearing, actual Jury and Bench trials, and appeals.

This office DOES NOT represent anyone in any Civil actions (i.e., Child Custody Support, Divorces, Repossessions, etc.)

This Office DOES NOT have an income criteria to meet, our services are FREE to Community Members.

Please call as soon as possible and make an appointment to assure the Advocates availability. Also, keep in mind if you do come in unannounced the Advocates may be in arraignments [illegible] and may not be available to see you. Please bring [illegible] documents you [illegible] from the Court [illegible] Complaints [illegible] Temporary [illegible] etc.

Our telephone number is [illegible] 941-[illegible] Monday [illegible] Thursday [illegible] Friday [illegible]

STAFF:
Melvin [illegible] Antone, Advocate
Department Head
Jeffrey L. Thomas, Advocate
Reiman R. Manuel, [illegible]
Carla Banuel[illegible]

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Volume 32, Number 12 October 1, 1993 Whiteriver, Arizona

Surviving in the fast lane: Go with the odds

By Marc Traeger, MD

Have [illegible] concrete wall in a car going [illegible] miles per hour? [illegible] like to [illegible] about this experience.

Most people, at some point during their life, will be in a [illegible] accident. Statistics tell us that. Statistics also tell [illegible] that many will also be in a severe accident in which passen[illegible] are killed. Many that have not been killed would have died if it were not for seat belts. In my experience, [illegible] could have died if it were not for seat belts.

My wife, Dr. Laura Brown, five months pregnant with our [illegible] child, our [illegible] child, and I had just spent a [illegible] in Wisconsin. It had been an enjoyable week and we were heading back to the Milwaukee airport to catch the plane back home. Our good friend drove. I sat in the passenger seat in the front. Laura sat behind the driver, my 80 year-old grandmother was behind me, and our child was in the car seat in the middle of the back seat. We all had our seat belts on. We were on the freeway on a busy Friday in rush hour traffic.

Our driver was careful, obeying the speed limit as we headed down the freeway in the center lane. We reminisced about the wonderful week we had had, all the new things and [illegible] had seen, [illegible] Lake Michigan, and [illegible] relatives we had been away from, [illegible] our homes and [illegible] child, and visits [illegible]

[illegible] the car [illegible] we felt a [illegible] backwards, and the car [illegible] Something had hit us from behind with [illegible] force. Eyeglasses were thrust backwards, landing in the [illegible] back. The car was spinning, veering across the left hand lane from the center at 55 miles per hour. We were heading right for the concrete retaining wall that divides the freeway. I watched the retaining wall approaching quickly. We were going to hit it, and there was nothing anyone could do.

> "We were heading right for the concrete retaining wall that divides the freeway. I watched the retaining wall approaching quickly. We were going to hit it and there was nothing anyone could do.

We hit the wall. I can't remember hitting it — I was probably knocked unconscious for a brief second when we hit it, along with everyone else. The next thing I knew, we had spun around backwards next to the retaining wall, and were facing the oncoming traffic. We seemed to be rolling backwards, partly in the emergency lane next to the retaining wall with part of the car in the left lane. There was still nothing that could be done to control the car. And in the left lane of the freeway, going too fast to stop, a semi truck and trailer was coming right at us.

The semi was going to hit us. There was nothing it could do

See Seat Belts, page 4

Clarilyn Cosay, carrying the eagle feather, leads the Apache core runners participating in the Statewide Native American Red Ribbon Run, which started at Sunrise Ski Resort. If you want to know who the other runners are, see page 6

Mother Earth Walker's top priority

As a proud Apache, Margaret Walker has great reverence for Mother Earth.

Naturally, this makes her worry about the abundance of trash that can be seen on the reservation almost everywhere you look.

"If we keep abusing Mother Earth, what's She going to be doing to us in the future?" Walker ponders.

As a person who is driven to action, Walker intends to do something about the enormous problem as the newly appointed Environmental Education Assistant, a position funded through a federal grant.

Walker has already started a recycling program that centers on the collection of paper products. Her long-range vision is for the Tribe to operate its own recycling center.

Walker is also visiting the reservation's schools to find out how they dispose of their solid waste.

But one of the biggest aspects of her job is to help implement a federally mandated program for the solid waste disposal on the reservation.

According to the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, [illegible] dumps must be [illegible] and a new landfill [illegible]

The Tribe has [illegible]

See Waste, [illegible]

Grant to fund historic cabin's restoration

The White Mountain Apache Tribe has received an Arizona Heritage Fund grant to renovate Gen. George Crook's quarters, perhaps the most important piece in the restoration puzzle of the Fort Apache Historic Park.

The $72,600 grant, recently approved by the Arizona State Parks Board, will restore the badly deteriorating log cabin, which is the oldest standing structure at Fort Apache. Built in 1871, the building now serves as the Apache Culture Center. The Tribe will pitch in about $52,000 as its grant match.

According to an engineer's report, weather and the ravages of time have inflicted heavy damage on the building, threatening its existence. This includes damage to the roof frame, the log structure, the foundation and the interior floors.

Much of the damage has been caused by poor drainage around the building.

Under the Fort Apache Master Plan, adopted by the Tribal Council, Crook's Cabin is considered the key building in the District's development.

As the District's oldest building, it is the focus of the walking tour. When restoration is finished, the next step will be the completion of the new Culture Center and Museum, which will open the way for the repatriation of Apache artifacts currently being held by museums

See Cabin, page 6

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Navajo Times

35 cents

The newspaper of the Navajo people

VOL. XXXIII NO. 9

WINDOW ROCK, NAVAJO NATION, ARIZONA 86515-0310

Thursday, March 11, 1993

Zah may be D.C. bound

[illegible]

3A State Champions

The Kirtland Central Lady Broncos get ready to accept their 1993 New Mexico Girls Class 3A State Championship trophy after nipping the Shiprock Lady Chieftains 47-46 in the championship finals at University of New Mexico Arena Wednesday night in Albuquerque, N.M. Overcome with emotions Kirtland Central's Celeste King (left) hugs her teammate Glenna Watchman following their victory over Shiprock. Story and more photo on sports page 10. (Times photos by Paul Natonabah)

Task Force to examine NCC issue

[illegible]

Plans for NAC headquarters begin falling into place

[illegible]

Gaming a challenge to sovereignty

[illegible]

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February 15, 1994

Ignacio, Colorado 81137-0737

SOUTHERN UTE DRUM

INSIDE THE DRUM

BOBCATS BEAT BAYFIELD
SEE PAGE 4

PERFORMERS PLAN TRIP TO RUSSIA
SEE PAGE 6

AGRICULTURAL LEASE NOTICES
SEE PAGE 8

Photo courtesy of Southern Ute Archives

[illegible] UTE LEADERS [illegible] Ute Pass Trail to those who had gone before. The Mouache band made winter camp in present-day Garden of the Gods and used the trail to travel into the mountains in spring.

New Teenager: Missing in Action

Addressing the Dropout Problem

By John T. Ranson
DRUM Staff Writer

High school counselor Clair Martinez says there have been an average of 3 to 5 dropouts each year within the Ignacio high school system for the past five years. Fully one third of all kids enrolled in high school in 1993 are in alternative education. When it comes to the [illegible] flexible Second Chance program, it is difficult to determine [illegible] [illegible] because whether he attends [illegible] the program [illegible].

"The [illegible] rate is [illegible]," says [illegible] of the Southern Ute Education Center. "They stick them into the Second Chance Program and whether they [illegible] or not, they don't count them as dropping out. So in the real picture that doesn't show."

Certainly that statement will be debated. But the figures above should be astonishing to any parent. This article is the first in a two-part series that will explore the issue and ask for solutions from the experts.

It was probably the Ed Sullivan Show that made plate-spinning acts famous. A performer would balance one, then two spinning dinner plates on flexible sticks. By the time he got to the seventh plate or so, the first two were wobbling and about to fall off their perches. He'd run back and restore their spin. If he worked up to a dozen spinning, he then had to dart wildly from plate to plate and keep each from falling and breaking.

A kid who falls behind on his high school work is a lot like that juggler if half his plates

See DROPOUT on page 3)

Garden of the Gods Planners Seek Tribal Input

By John T. Ranson
DRUM Staff Writer

The burnt-orange stone monuments that salute Pike's Peak are more than just a spectacular feature to Colorado Springs's premiere city park. Gene Smith and Terry Putnam aim to get the historical message of Garden of the Gods across to visitors. So recently they paid a visit to Ignacio to consult tribal historians. As park planners for Colorado Springs, they had questions for Aiden Naranjo, Austin Box, Eugene Naranjo and others regarding Ute history in Garden of the Gods.

Slated for a face-lift, the city park will undergo changes that will bring it closer to its natural state according to Putnam, Design and Development Manager for the city's parks and recreation department. Putnam has proposed to remove a concession inside the park, eliminate some roads, and add a parking lot and visitor's center at the park's perimeter on land donated by a benefactor. He said these and other changes should reduce environmental impact the 1.5 million yearly visitors have had on the park.

Smith, Visitor Services Supervisor, plans to make educational changes as well. He feels that park-goers have appreciated the beauty and unusual rock formations, but mostly remain unaware of the area's history, geologic and human. "Those of us who have worked in the park over the years have felt frustrated with our inability to tell that history," Smith said.

Park renovations should change that. With interpretive plaques describing flora, fauna, and Ute history, Smith hopes that visitors will come away with greater appreciation for the park.

"People don't treat the park with much reverence. It's the kind of place where you might go throw a football," Smith said. "But people don't look at Yellowstone or Monument Valley that way. We're hopeful that by sharing this story in an exciting way with them, they will act differently when they go into this park."

The planners solicited the help of Southern Ute historians in an effort to ensure the information given to the general public is accurate. "With your help, we can tell the story that you want told about the Ute history in the Garden of the Gods," Smith said.

The Mouache band of Utes made winter camps in what is now Garden of the Gods for centuries. Smith said an ancient hearth discovered in the park dates back to more than 3000 years ago. There is evidence that Utes used the area [illegible] from that time until white settlers encroached upon them.

As tribal members and the group from Colorado Springs watched over his shoulder, Aiden Naranjo sketched on a relief map the trails the various Ute bands used to travel the mountains of this state. Not surprisingly, they correspond to present day highways over familiar passes. Today's Ute Pass west from the Garden of the Gods is the such trail. Parts of the trail, however, remain preserved.

Naranjo spoke of the various Ute bands [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] was [illegible] band [illegible] the Seguache [illegible] valley of the [illegible] from the north. [illegible] the old camps were [illegible] that the many hot springs throughout the state.

See PARK on page 2

Photo by Lance Taylor

THIS EIGHT YEAR OLD LION was shot at Piedra Peak #2. (See story on page 4)

Stage Set for Building of D'Wolf Mini-storage

By John T. Ranson
DRUM Staff Writer

Though she might have felt like she had to jump through hoops to go through the Tribal Credit Committee, Lynda Grove is happy she did. Doing so has enabled her to secure a low-interest loan to build a 10-unit mini-storage business just north of her home on the Buck Highway.

D'Wolf Mini-storage, named after Everett D'Wolf, Grove's husband, is slated to open by the end of February. Grove estimates the cost of renting their 10' by 10' unit at $50 to $55. A 10' by 20' unit will run $60 to $65 per month.

In researching for her venture, Grove found that the local storage business had a waiting list and that many local residents were forced to go to Bayfield or even Durango to store their possessions. She knew she'd found a niche.

No stranger to business ownership, Grove was prepared for the challenges she faced in starting this enterprise. At least she thought so. However because she proposed to put the business on her assigned land and the tribe has no provisions for commercial zoning, she had to get environmental, tribal, and BIA clearances.

"It has taken four trips to Council," Grove said. "You would not believe the mass confusion."

Tribal Council is aware that the process needs to be streamlined for future tribal entrepreneurs [illegible]. Grove said she was able to understand the reasons for the difficulties. "She is the first tribal member [illegible] so many changes in traditional tribal policy."

"I really felt good about Tribal Council. They were supportive. Howard Richards was especially instrumental in helping me get this loan," Grove said.

Now that she has the money to begin construction, she is planning on consulting with Construction Services to do some excavating.

"I want to keep the money within the tribe," she said. "That way the opening of this business will help the tribe itself."

See BUSINESS on page 2

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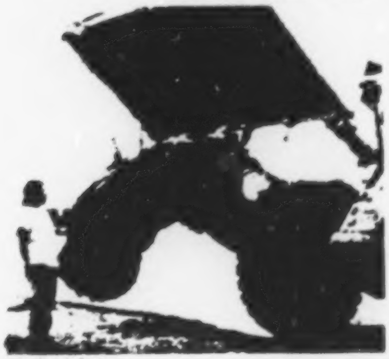
CHIEF JACK HOUSE
CHIEF IGNACIO

WEENUCHE SMOKE SIGNALS

UTE MOUNTAIN UTE TRIBE

VOLUME 13 ISSUE 5 MAY 1993

THE UTE COUNCIL TREE ARRIVES ON RESERVATION



By [illegible] Hayes
Weenuche Staff

On April [illegible] a part of [illegible] arrived on the Ute Mountain Reservation. The [illegible] year old cotton wood tree was said to have [illegible] Chief Ouray and [illegible] to be a council with the [illegible] and [illegible] members of [illegible]. The tree [illegible] Delta, Colorado was designated a historical monument [illegible] by the Daughters of the American Revolution. The council tree is also listed among Colorado landmarks and is in the book "Famous and Historic Trees of the United States". The tree [illegible] feet high and [illegible] 200 inches [illegible] has been said that in years past the leaders of the different Ute bands gathered under the council tree [illegible] important issues. These issues may have included the treaties made with the U.S. government [illegible] maybe to plan a trip [illegible] with the [illegible] in that area. They may have [illegible] where and when the [illegible] was to be held that year. Besides these tribal issues the [illegible] from the other bands [illegible] and marriages that [illegible] them [illegible].

Last [illegible] high winds tore huge limbs from the tree. The broken tree limbs were taken to Fort Uncompahgre for storage. In April members of the Southern Ute Tribe went to Delta to pick up the tree limbs. They [illegible] to give each of the three Ute bands a piece of the council tree. The Southern Utes plan to cut their [illegible] then [illegible] out the [illegible] then place a buffalo or [illegible] the [illegible] limbs [illegible] to make them into ceremonial drums. The Ute Mountain Tribe [illegible] to have a plaque placed on the [illegible] This plaque will explain the important [illegible] in the past when there was the Ute [illegible].

NAME CHANGE FOR TRIBAL PAPER

By [illegible] Hayes
Weenuche Staff

In May the tribal newspaper [illegible] changed [illegible] the Echo to the Weenuche Smoke Signals. The staff made the decision to [illegible] to better reflect the Ute Mountain Ute [illegible] and hope it will help [illegible] among our tribal youth.

The name "Weenuche" [illegible] "Weeminuche" [illegible] of the Indians of long ago. We added the "Smoke Signals" because this was the way the Indians of the past used to pass on tribal information.

You may also notice that we took off Chief Ouray picture and added Chief Ignacio [illegible] because we thought Chief Ignacio had a more significant role in the past history of the [illegible] people than that of Chief Ouray.

The buffaloes were placed on the masthead because they symbolize the power and the [illegible] American Indians.

A IMPORTANT NOTE FROM THE TRIBAL HEADSTART

The Federal on site review for Head Start was [illegible] May 4th & 5th. The compliments for the Head Start staff and programs were many.

The Component Reviewers stated that the staff, parents, policy Council all made [illegible] welcome and were praised for their [illegible] work.

The Policy Council and the [illegible] Needs Assessment for the Head Start [illegible] even more strengths for the parents [illegible] staff of your Head Start.

Become active with your school and be [illegible] your kids.

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School Superintendent Pesata Offered [illegible] Contract
Page 3

Winstar Studio [illegible] Commercial Here
Page 5

Dulce Seniors Graduation May 29
Page 9

KCIE News Director Vigil attends NAJA
Page 10

JICARILLA CHIEFTAIN

Dedicated to the Future and Progress of the Jicarilla Apache Tribe

Volume 33 No. 11 — Dulce, New Mexico — Elevation: 6,793 — Home of the Jicarilla Apache Tribe — Friday, May 28, 1993

Tribe Makes Contribution to Air Care 1

On May 14th a luncheon was held at the Holiday Inn in Farmington, followed by a special reception at the San Juan Regional Medical Center Hospital. The Tribe presented the Aeromedical Helicopter Service (Air Care 1) with a $15,000 check to help contribute to the operating expenses. The service provides air transportation to medical facilities in extreme trauma cases when time is of the essence to sustain life. The Tribe plans to continue support for the aeromedical helicopter Service on an annual basis.

The San Juan Regional Staff and Administration have been working with the Tribe for more than a year to work out a plan of support for the service which provides a vital link of medical care for the residents of the Jicarilla Reservation.

Those present at the luncheon and reception were: President Leonard Atole, Vice President Wainwright Velarde, Council Members: Rudy Velarde, Faron Baltazar, Edward Velarde, Stanley Montoya and Hubert Velarde. Arnold Cassador, Meridine Elote and Darla Monarco of Public Relations. BIA Superintendent Sherryl Vigil, Senator Leonard Tsosie and State Representative Darla Whitney-Welles, David Velarde, Elizabeth Velarde, Vincent Maria, and Lori M. Vicenti from the *Jicarilla Chieftain*.

DONATION - Was made to the Aeromedical Helicopter Service of the San Juan Regional Medical Center by the Jicarilla Apache Tribe. $15,000 was contributed to the service to help with the expenses for the 1993-94 year. President Leonard Atole made the presentation to the Medical Center.

Rabies Vaccination Clinic June 10

U.S. P.H.S. Indian Health Service and the Community Health Representative Environmental Health Service will be conducting a *FREE* Rabies Vaccination Clinic for the community and surrounding areas on June 10 beginning at 9:00 a.m. and concluding at 3:30 p.m. on the same day. The vaccination clinic will be held at the Game and Fish Department storage building.

Due to time limitation and vaccine availability, we are requesting that the public and all concerned to please cooperate and bring your pets in on June 10, this will be the *ONLY* clinic to be held for 1993.

As in past years pet owners are to bring dogs on a leash with collars for vaccination tags as required by Tribal Animal Control Ordinance. Also cats are required to be brought to the vaccination clinic in a sack. Due to regulations, the Environmental Health Personnel *WILL NOT* make any home visits in the community and in the southern portion of the reservation. Please make your own arrangements prior to June 10 for the Free Rabies vaccination Clinic here in Dulce.

Also Dr. Loretto of the Loretto Veterinarian Clinic will be at the site of on the same day June 10 to provide other vaccines: combination canine vaccines and combination feline vaccines, these vaccines are for distemper parvovirus, flu vaccines and other diseases. These vaccines will be offered to the public at a reduced price on that day *ONLY*. The Rabies vaccine will be offered *FREE* of charge by Indian Health Service.

For further information call the CHR Office of Environmental Health Services, 759-[illegible].

Higher Education Program Student Orientation June 18th

The Higher Education Program will be providing its annual Student Orientation on June 18th at the Dulce Independent School Board Room. All students that are currently attending post-secondary schools and newly graduated high school students planning on receiving Jicarilla HEP funds are required to attend, parents are also encouraged to attend. Items to be discussed are program guidelines and submittal of documents to ensure a successful academic career.

Graduating Seniors from Post-Secondary institutions please follow-up by submitting a copy of your transcript and diploma/certificate [illegible]. Congratulations to the [illegible] 1993.

The meeting [illegible] a.m. to be followed by [illegible] and entertainment at the [illegible] Park, weather permitting.

For more information contact: Josephine [illegible], [illegible]; Delvina Garcia, Secretary; Rhonda Riley, Counselor; or Fred [illegible], Counselor.

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TS'INA: I:SHOKWINNE

PUEBLO OF ZUNI
TRIBAL NEWSLETTER

NOVEMBER, 1992

ZUNI SENIOR CENTER NEWS

Colder weather is among us. We have noticed that colors are coming out, the trees are turning yellow, orange and pretty soon it will be brown.

We need more male Senior Companions; anyone 60 years and over with time on their hands, come and join us here. There are afternoon activities, trips and I could go on and on about how great our center is but, why not come see for yourself, please stop by anytime.

HAPPENINGS

A lot has happened this month and we have done so many things it's hard to know where to begin. Let us start by welcoming aboard two new Senior Companions; Ms. Rosaline Pinto and Mr. Frances Tsethlikai who started this month and already are in demand for their services.

We had our annual picnic before it snowed and besides, what better way to show our seniors that we love and care for each and everyone of them. The Seniors got a break from their regular routine and enjoyed a day in the wilderness. We also went to pick pinons one afternoon, we took our time in picking the nuts. We thought we picked enough, but we wanted more, so we went again. Only the fast pickers have a storage of nuts. We took our advice, we did not wonder far and watched where we kneeled down. Most of all, we did not climb any trees.

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'Decade of the Child'

'FREE'

Hopi Tutu-veh-ni

P.O. Box 123 Kykotsmovi, AZ 86039

VOLUME II, NUMBER 80

JANUARY 08,1993

A BIG MOMENT--Chairman **Masayesva** accepts a gift from a young runner in 1992 during the Red Ribbon run across the Hopi reservation.

New Year offers challenges to Hopis

By Vernon Masayesva
Hopi Tribal Chairman

A reporter asked about my thoughts and feelings as I enter my final year in office. I felt it is appropriate to share it with you.

I feel ecstatic. Everyday is going to be special, an opportunity to tackle new challenges, complete unfinished work, meet people, and look forward to the day when I will return to private life.

In my inauguration speech three years ago, I said I will not be able to complete all the things I would like, but if I succeed in planting the seeds for a better future, I would be pleased.

Some of the seeds have already begun to bear fruit. Let me name a few. Hopi-sponsored legislation disallowing the desecration of graves on private lands in Arizona has become law. Hopi supported federal legislation to protect the integrity of Grand Canyon was signed into law by **President Bush last month**, we put an end to the Smoki Snake Dance and successfully prevented a book on Sipapuni from being published; we are participating as a cooperating agency on Environmental Impact Studies regarding Glen Canyon Dam; Hopi will participate in Grand Canyon Management studies and Grand Canyon Transport Visibility Study, both are important in protecting quality of life and cultural resources on our ancestral lands.

Here at home, we established programs to provide long overdue services to military veterans; we received Congressional funding for domestic water for Hopi-Tewa relocatees in Spider Mound area; we convinced BIA to prioritize construction of a new school to house Second Mesa Day School students. We have opened up opportunities for our youth to study abroad in Spain and Israel.

We are making good progress in finding an alternative source of water to slurry coal from Black Mesa to Nevada. We are in the midst of bringing relocation to conclusion and settling numerous lawsuits against the United States and Navajo Nation. If settlement is successfully concluded, Hopi will regain a portion of its traditional land base and save millions of dollars in legal fees.

All these accomplishments could not have been achieved without the support of the Hopi Tribal Council. Although we have our differences, never before have so many accomplishments been made within a very short period of time. I ask the Hopi Tribal Council to carry the spirit of cooperation as we move into the next year.

Two critical unfinished items will be addressed in 1993. First, a referendum to amend our constitution to make our enrollment policy more in tune with today's requirements. For example, many of our people need medical help but are unable to get Indian Health medical services because the federal government now requires a tribal enrollment number.

My staff has negotiated and completed all the BIA requirements for holding a referendum. The ball is now in the Tribal Council's hands. I will do my part in pushing Council to act on this critical and long overdue matter. Support from concerned Hopis will be necessary, however.

Last summer the Hopi Mediation Team settled an "accounting" lawsuit against the United States. We will get over $400,000 from the settlement. The Human Services Committee has approved our resolution to dedicate the full amount to establish a trust fund for elders and youth.

cont. on page 2

First Mesa warrior discusses history

By Catherine Eiston
Hopi Tutu-veh-ni Editor

KYKOTSMOVI--Contributions of American Indian people to the United States are many, but one of the most important services Indian people performed in the past century was protection of the United States during World War II. A little known chapter in Hopi history was written by the accomplishments of Hopi communications specialists--"Codetalkers," like Mr. Franklin Shupla of First Mesa.

"There were nine of us Codetalkers," Shupla told Tutu-veh-ni. "We were assigned to the South Pacific. I was in the Army and we traveled around so many islands. We were getting ready to make the jump from the Philippines to Japan when they dropped those two bombs and ended the war."

Shupla did land on Japan and served for a time as part of the Occupation force.

"We Hopis and Tewas were in communications contact. We did our work, and whenever somebody got a letter from home, we would share information about what was going on," Shupla said. "No one could understand us. We used Hopi words in our code."

Shupla [illegible] was drafted and spent [illegible] en route to the induction center during the war.

Shupla, of the Tobacco Clan, is the son of a Tewa mother and a Hopi father. He grew up speaking both Hopi and Tewa, and attributes this bilingual background to his success in signals and linguistics.

"I speak Tewa, Hopi and English, that's it," Shupla explained.

Hopi Tribal Chairman Vernon Masayesva explained that council members were surprised to learn from Shupla that Hopi and Tewa warriors were involved in the major military "Codetalker" network.

"Many Indian Nations have assumed that Navajos were the only Codetalkers because of the enormous amount of national publicity focused on them," Masayesva said. "I'm certain that the Hopi council will support an initiative resulting in the formal recognition of contributions made by our veterans."

Tutu-veh-ni reveals Top 10 of 1992

By Catherine Eiston
Tutu-veh-ni Editor

January is the opening month of the new year. The month is named after the Roman God Janus, who was pictured with two faces: one face looking forward into the future and one face looking backward into the past. In January people honored him at his temples and made prayers for the coming year.

As every future is based on the foundation of the past, Tutu-veh-ni presents a retrospective of our top ten stories of 1992. Happy and healthy 1993!

Hopi and Navajo land agreement in principle--

The top story of the year for Hopi land tribal negotiating team and the struggle for Hopi lands. After 18 months of sensitive negotiations, Hopi and Navajo reached an agreement in principle in a search for some justice for Hopi people. The agreement, if ratified by Congress, would permit Navajos resisting relocation from Hopi lands to sign a 75-year lease. It would bring an end to relocation of Navajos from Hopi reservation land (if the resisters agree to lease terms), a project that has cost American tax-payers half a billion dollars. All Hopis have moved from Hopi reservation land partitioned to the Navajos.

The Navajo Tribe received almost 400,000 acres of "replacement land" for Navajo relocatees as a result of amendments to the relocation law, P.L. 93-531. The Hopi Tribe received no replacement land. Under the agreement in principle, Hopis will receive replacement lands on the traditional Hopi homeland.

Before the agreement was ratified by both tribal councils, U.S. Forest Service head Dale Robertson started a deliberate campaign of public disinformation by the "leak" of a memorandum to the press. In the

Top Ten, Cont'd on page 2

Hopi Queen crowned in '92
see page 2

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Electronic News Hawkers: Topic Selection and Placement of Teasers in Local Television Newscasts

Dale E. Zacher
E.W. Scripps School of Journalism
Ohio University
Athens, Ohio 45701
614-593-2590

Submitted to the Radio and Television Journalism Division
of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, August 10 to 13, 1994.

Electronic News Hawkers: Topic Selection and Placement of Teasers in Local Television Newscasts

Federal deregulation of television content and increased competition from other media in the 1980s have put increasing pressure on local TV news departments to make a profit.[1] As further indication of this trend, a survey of commercial television news directors in 1992 showed 74 percent reported their news departments were making money, while only 16 percent reported losing money.[2]

The local television station's drive for ratings has been described primarily as a drive for mass households, as opposed to newspapers, which are conscious of demographics and wish to target the more affluent.[3] Thus, local television news gears itself more for the less-educated and less-affluent mass audience than newspapers.[4] Some contend the drive for mass audiences has eroded television's editorial standards into an "if it bleeds, it leads" mentality that thrives on graphic visuals to seize audience interest.[5] The success of tabloid television shows such as "Hard Copy," and "A Current Affair" have also been blamed for fueling sensationalism in local news, especially in the larger markets.[6]

At the same time, some late night local newscasts (beginning at 11 p.m. in the eastern time zone) are fighting eroding viewership because demanding lifestyles--

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[1] Michael L McKean and Vernon A. Stone, "Deregulation and Competition: Explaining the Absence of Local Broadcast News Operations," *Journalism Quarterly*, 69 (1992): 715.

[2] Vernon A. Stone, "News Stays Profitable," *RTNDA Communicator*, April 1993, 34.

[3] Phyllis Kaniss, *Making Local News*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 103.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Edward Bliss, Jr., *Now the News*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 459-461.

[6] Peter Viles, "News Execs Grumble About Tabloid TV," *Broadcasting and Cable*, 27 September 1993, 42.

such as two-income families--are driving people to bed earlier.[7] One Iowa station tried to save its late news by promoting its newscast as providing its sleep-conscious viewers all the major stories, sports and weather--all in the first six minutes of the newscast[8].

Primetime battle of the teasers in Columbus, Ohio

As part of their competition to attract viewers to their late night newscasts, the three VHF network television stations in Columbus, Ohio, employ a battery of "teasers" inserted at half-hour increments during network primetime entertainment programming (8-11 p.m. eastern time). Teasers are considered "topical promotions" and have been used increasingly by news departments in competitive markets during the past decade.[9] The increasing use of teasers to hype news stories as a way to discourage viewers from switching the channel is considered another influence from "tabloid TV."[10] Teasers used as promotional tools are expected to become more prevalent and important as local broadcasters face increasing competition for viewers from satellite, cable, and telephone ventures.[11]

Teasers routinely are used by stations to hold viewers inside newscasts. They have been described as ways to entice the audience to stay tuned by "whetting their curiosity and interest."[12] They must be done without giving the story away, or as Fang states: "This usually means telling the subject of the story and the nature of the situation without revealing the outcome."[13] Stephens warns: "Teasing fits uncomfortably in broadcast journalism, which is supposed to be in the business of delivering....You can only go so far in manipulating and confounding the audience."[14]

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[7] Kim Standish, "Preparing for Change: Get Set for the 1990s," *RTNDA Communicator*, February 1990, 19, 22; Standish, "More News in the Morning," *RTNDA Communicator*, June 1993, 28.

[8] BPME Explores Promotions and the Bottom Line, *Broadcasting*, June 24, 1991, 60-61.

[9] David Tessel, telephone conversation with author, 14 March 1994. Tessel is a Marketing and Creative Service Consultant with Frank N. Magid Associates. Frank N. Magid Associates consults an undisclosed television station in the Columbus market, but Tessel is not assigned to that client.

[10] Viles, 43. See also: Rob Publisi, "A Marriage That Must Work," *RTNDA Communicator*, May 1994, 14-15.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Peter Mayeux, *Broadcast News Writing and Reporting*, (Dubuque: Wm C. Brown Publishers, 1991), 362.

[13] Irving Fang, *Television News, Radio News*, (St. Paul: Rada Press, 1985), 116.

Typical Columbus teasers

Teasers used at the Columbus television stations fit the textbook definition of curiosity whetting. "Making sure you raise a million dollar baby...tonight at 11" was one teaser used by Channel 10, February 11, at approximately 8:30 p.m. The story was a consumer-oriented feature about how much parents would have to save to guarantee enough money for their baby's future. An hour later that night, a Channel 10 anchor teased viewers with "President Clinton coming to central Ohio. Details at 11." This more straightforward tease was about preparations for Clinton's trip to the Columbus area to stump for a crime bill in Congress. That same night, Channel 4 was asking viewers, at about 8 p.m., "Are we getting any relief from the ice? Find out at 11."

Channel 6 on February 3 teased: "You may already be a winner. Sweepstakes fever...at 11." The story ultimately proved to be a consumer-oriented feature about people who have won mail-order magazine sweepstakes awards. On February 3, Channel 10, around 10:30 p.m., teased as part of a 30-second insert: "We were the first to bring you the story live at six: a double shooting shocks a community. Coming up tonight at 11, we'll tell you how family members are trying to figure out how this tragedy happened."

Each Columbus station teases stories at the top and bottom of each hour during primetime network programming. Most of the time, one story is teased per insert, making the insert less than 10 seconds. As many as five sometimes are teased during 30-second inserts, which usually run after 10 p.m. Channel 10 promotes itself as "Your 24-hour news source," and faithfully devotes 30 seconds at 59 minutes past each hour to "news updates." For this study, these "updates" are considered teasers because they perform much the same function. Still, some of the news events featured in Channel 10's updates never aired in the late newscast. At the bottom of the hour, Channel 10 typically uses one-subject 10-second teases, much like its two competitors.

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[14] Mitchell Stephens, *Broadcast News*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1986), 215.

This exploratory study attempts to find what categories of stories are being teased by these local television news departments in a competitive, large market. Most of the academic research done regarding news teasers has focused on their influence on memory and attention.[15] Their use by news departments as a promotional tool has been largely ignored.[16]

Research Questions

Because this study is the first to target solely news teasers scheduled during primarily non-news, network programming, guidance could only be received from various gatekeeping content analyses of local newscast content. Ryu, for example, found that sensational or human interest stories (including crime, accidents, natural disasters) were given greater emphasis than government or community stories by three Cincinnati, Ohio, television stations.[17] Kaniss' study of Philadelphia television newscasts also found that crime, accidents, and fires received greater coverage than government and policy. Government stories were further de-emphasized in the late newscast.[18] As far as geographic focus of local news, Carroll found that major-market news stations devote significantly greater average time to city and metro-area news--about two-thirds of total newstime-- than either medium or small market stations.[19] The same study found that major market stations devoted the largest amount of time to civics, followed by a category of crimes, fires and accidents, and thirdly, feature stories[20]. All studies measured emphasis by the amount of newstime.

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[15] See, for example, Glen T. Cameron, Joan Schleuder, and Esther Thorson, "The Role of News Teasers in Processing TV News and Commercials," *Communication Research*, 18 (1991): 667-684.

[16] Carroll, for example, found significantly greater use of teases of upcoming programming content in major than in their medium or small markets in his study of 57 stations of various sizes. These were teases contained inside newscasts, not during primetime programming, however; Raymond Carroll, "Market Size and TV News Values," *Journalism Quarterly*, 66 (1989): 53.

[17] Jung S. Rye "Public Affairs and Sensationalism in Local TV News Programs," *Journalism Quarterly*, 59 (1982): 76-77.

[18] Kaniss, 114-118.

The research questions set forth in this exploratory study are simple. It is hoped they will unearth directions for additional research:

1. What types of story topics are being used as teasers?
2. What is the geographic focus of the stories being teased?
3. How deep into the newscast are the teased stories being placed?
4. What kind of visual support is given to stories that are teased?

Method

Appropriateness of Columbus, Ohio, as a sample site

Columbus makes an appropriate site for such a study. The city is considered a good cross-section of the United States. Its demographics and other characteristics ranked it number eleven among one major advertising agency's list of recommended test markets for new product marketers.[21] Ralston Purina, Kraft USA, Nestle Foods, Campbell Soup, Weight Watchers International, Mobil Chemical, Keebler and Procter & Gamble were among several companies that test marketed new products in Columbus in 1988-1990 alone.[22] It is a state capitol, located near Ohio's geographic center, and is considered to have little media "spillover" from neighboring media markets.[23]

The Columbus market is also competitive, with at least two stations in a close battle for the top ratings. A.C. Nielsen ratings for November 1993 in Columbus, the 34th largest television market, showed that NBC affiliate WCMH, Channel 4, had the top-rated 11 p.m. newscast, while CBS affiliate WBNS, Channel 10, wins most of the newscasts airing at earlier times. ABC affiliate WSYX, Channel 6, is a distant third.[24]

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[19] Carroll, 52.
[20] Carroll, 54.
[21] *Saatchi & Saatchi's Guide to Test Market Media Planning and Market Selection*, December 1990.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*

Constructing the sample

A "week" of primetime news teasers and 11 p.m. newscasts was constructed by randomly selecting one Monday, one Tuesday, one Wednesday, etc., from each of the months in the sample. This was done by drawing numbers from a hat. If a month had four Wednesdays in it, for example, four slips of paper numbered one through four were placed in a hat and one piece of paper was drawn from it. If the slip drawn was a "two," for instance, the second Wednesday of that month was recorded for the study. This system was repeated for each day of the week and for each month. In the end, three examples of each of the seven days of the week spanning three months was included in the sample.

The specific dates selected using this method were November 10, 12, 15, 18, 20, 21 and 23, 1993; January 10, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25 and 28, 1994; and February 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 16 and 19, 1994. On each of these nights, three videocassette recorders were used to record from 7:57 p.m. eastern time until the end of the stations' late newscasts, which is approximately 11:36 p.m. eastern time. The video recording allowed for convenient and accurate coding of the news teases.

Data was collected from the three television stations with local newscasts in Columbus, Ohio--WCMH, WSYX and WBNS-- in November 1993 and January and February 1994. December was not included in the sample because of possible effects Christmas might have on programming and advertising time.

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[24] "Local News Shows Generated Plenty of News of Their Own," *Columbus Dispatch*, 26 December 1993, final edition; Tim Feran, "Channel 4 Wins 11 p.m. Period," *Columbus Dispatch*, 16 December 1993, final edition.

Teasers included in the sample

Teasers airing immediately before primetime programming--at approximately 7:59 p.m. eastern time, were the first teasers to be coded for the study. The last teasers each night were coded at approximately 10:59 p.m.--minutes before the actual newscast begins. Teasers were considered to be headlines delivered by an anchor, usually from the news set. Prerecorded news promotional spots were not considered teasers. The three stations used 845 teases during the 21-day period--an average of about 13 stories per station per night. No teasers airing *within* the newscasts were included in the sample. The 11 p.m. newscasts were recorded so the placement of the story and how it was supported visually could be coded.

Teased story topic categories

As for the system of categories used to code the teasers, minor changes were made in the Deutschmann category system subsequently revised by Stempel for network television and newspaper gatekeeping studies.[25] The categories used were:

> *Crime:* All stories, including criminal proceedings in court.
>
> *Accidents:* reports of man-made accidents, such as car collisions, industrial accident, toxic spills.
>
> *Fires:* Damaging buildings, people or wilderness.
>
> *Natural disasters:* Acts of God, including isolated weather-induced incidents--floods, earthquakes, mudslides, hurricanes. Snowstorms not included.
>
> *Public Moral Problems:* Human relations and moral problems involving drugs and alcohol abuse, sex, race relations and civil court proceedings.
>
> *Politics and Government Acts:* Government acts and politics at local, state and national levels.
>
> *Economic Activity:* General economic activity, prices, wages, labor.

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[25] Paul J. Deutschmann, *News-Page Content of Twelve Metropolitan Dailies,*" (Cincinnati: Scripps-Howard Research, 1959), 58-62. Guido H. Stempel III, "Gatekeeping: The Mix of Topics and the Selection of Stories," *Journalism Quarterly*, 62 (1985): 793.

Weather: Forecasts, effects on roads, power supplies, etc. Isolated weather carnage like tornadoes, hurricanes, not included. Snowstorms are included.

War and Peace/Foreign Relations: Both foreign and domestic items dealing with diplomacy and foreign relations.

Agriculture: Farming, farm prices, agriculture economics.

Transportation and travel: travel stories, including economic aspects.

Science and Invention: Science other than defense and not health related.

Public health and Welfare: Health, medicine, public welfare, social and safety measures, welfare of children and marriage relations.

Education and Classic Arts: Education, classic arts, religion and philantrophy.

Popular Amusements: Entertainment and amusements, lotteries, sports.

General Human Interest: Human interest features, obits, personality profiles, juvenile interest.

Universal categories

Each teaser was also coded by channel, day of the week, date, and morbidity--whether it mentioned the death or possible death of a person. Each teased story was coded by its "geographic focus" using five categories: Columbus metropolitan area (considered to be Delaware, Fairfield, Licking, Madison, Pickaway and Union Counties), the state of Ohio outside of metropolitan Columbus, national stories, international stories, and indeterminable focus. Geographic focus was determined primarily by assessing where the reported event occurred. Many health advice stories were coded as "indeterminable" because they had wide appeal and uncertain origins. Weather stories, such as forecasts, were coded as "state of Ohio" stories if the story did not specifically focus on the Columbus metropolitan area.

Ultimate story placement categories

The ultimate placement of the teased story in the 11 p.m. newscast was coded in eight categories: "first segment, led newscast"; "first segment, but did not lead"; "second, third or other segment before main weather"; "during main weather only"; "segment after weather, but before main sports"; "during main sports"; "any segment after main sports"; and "story did not air." The placement of the teased stories was coded based on their first significant treatment in the newscast. For example, many weather forecasts were reported in the first news segment during bad weather days, and then covered in more detail in the main weather segment. These weather stories were accordingly coded as a "first segment" placement.

Visual support categories

The amount of visual support given to teased stories was also coded in five categories to help assess its television news value. If the story aired with video, including voice-overs and reporter packages, it was coded as a "video" story. If the story had no moving video in it at all, such as an anchor reader with still graphics, it was coded as "no video." Stories using "live" visuals in any way, even live reports from reporters in studio, were coded as "live treatment" stories. Stories with anchor-reporter banter that followed with a pre-produced video package from the reporter were placed in this category. Many were stories "live from the scene" of breaking events. A fourth category, "No narration": was used to code lottery numbers that were teased, but only referenced in the newscast by a graphic containing the numbers before the news segment. A fifth category, "story did not air," was also included.

Reliability

The author and two mass communication graduate students--one male, one female--cross-checked two randomly selected nights of teasers gathered as part of the 21-night sample. A total of 27 teasers were aired by the ABC and NBC affiliates used in this reliability test. For testing purposes, 14 non-duplicative teasers were randomly selected to determine reliability of the coding system. The lowest average agreement among the variables was 94.4 percent for the teased story's visual support. Overall reliability for all variables was 99.2 percent. The author coded all remaining teasers The coded sample include 845 teasers. Level of significance for this study was set at .05.

Findings

Teaser Topic Selection

The three television stations teased stories from similar categories and in similar ways (see Table One). Still, Spearman rank-order correlations found more agreement (perfect agreement = 1) between Channels 6 and 10 (r=.917; p=.001)) than between Channels 6 and 4 (r=.803; p<.001) or channels 10 and 4 (r=.814; p<.001).

Each station's top seven topic categories accounted for the lion's share of their teasers. For Channel 4, crime, popular amusements (sports stories fell into this category), weather, political acts, accidents, fires and human interest accounted for 85% of that station's teaser topics.

For Channel 6, 86.5% of its teases were lumped in the categories of crime, weather, human interest, health, political acts, popular amusements and public moral problems.

For Channel 10, 81.6 % of its teases were from the crime, weather, popular amusements, health, public moral problems, political acts and human interest categories.

Crime emerged as the single largest category of teased stories, representing 26.7 percent of all stories teased on all stations. Exactly one-half of the 226 crime stories teased on the three stations focused on crimes taking place in the Columbus metro area. Another 36.2% were crime stories national in scope. In other words, they were crime stories taking place outside of Ohio, but inside the United States. Crimes stories from areas in Ohio outside of the Columbus area made up 12.8% of the total crime stories teased by all stations. Only 1% of the crime teases were considered either international or indeterminable geographic focus. Of all teasers, 12.3% mentioned at least the possible death of a person.

Weather-related teasers constituted the second largest category of news teasers, making up 13.2% of the teasers on the three stations. The category of popular amusements, which was virtually all sports-related stories with some lottery-related stories, ranked third with 10.7% of all teasers. Channel 6, however, was the least likely of the three stations to tease popular amusement stories. Human interest stories constituted Channel 6's third favorite type of teaser, making up 14.8% of that stations' total teasers. Political acts, which included state, local and national government levels, was the fifth most popular teaser subject for all stations and made up 8.6% of the total.

Foreign relations/war, natural disasters, economic acts, education, transportation, agriculture and science stories only made up a combined 8.4% of the stories teased by all three stations.

The 16 categories used in the study were collapsed into four categories for closer examination (see Table Four). Traditional hard news categories--lumped in the collapsed categories "government" and "other hard news"-- made up between 13% and 19% of the teasers. Stories about politics, education, science, economics and foreign relations were de-emphasized in favor of stories containing sensationalism and human interest. Chi-square analysis found no statistically significant relationship among the stations and their choices of teaser topics.

Geographic focus of all teasers

The single largest category of teasers based on geographic focus was made up of teased stories affecting the Columbus metropolitan-area (see Table Two). For all stations, 44% of the stories teased focused on the Columbus metropolitan area. Stories with a national scope ranked second with 26.7%. State of Ohio stories made up 19.4% of the stories teased on the trio of the stations.

Table Five shows how the three stations spread the four collapsed topic categories among three levels of geographic focus. The table shows stations were more likely to tap the state of Ohio for a story of human interest,[26] and used the national or international scene for sensational stories. The percentage of government stories remained relatively constant regardless of geography. Economics, agriculture, economics, transportation, science and education were much more likely to be covered at the national or international level than at the state or local level.

Story placement of teased stories

Viewers of the late news in Columbus will see teased stories early in the 11 p.m. newscast (see Table Three). About 85% of all teased stories aired before the main weather segment. Most are first segment stories. About 70 percent of all teased stories are seen in the newscast before the first set of commercials ends the first news segment. Moreover, about one-fifth of all teased stories ultimately are lead stories.

Visual Support given to teased stories

Considering the visual nature of television, it is not surprising that 75.7% of all stories teased aired with some sort of moving video, either as a reporter package or simple voice-over. Another 17% of the stories used some sort of live pictures or live reporter/anchor banter to help report the story--with or without additional recorded video. Roughly 5% of the stories teased aired with no moving video at all. Three of the 845 teased stories (.4% of the total) were coded as "no narration" because they were lottery results placed on a graphics and never referenced verbally by the anchor. About 2.1% of the stories teased never aired in the newscast.

Discussion

One media consultant described the best teaser as one that uses the best story that will attract the audience you want to your newscast.[27] The study of teasers gives researchers an excellent opportunity to see which stories newscast promoters believe will attract viewers. History provides perspective to the current exploratory study. Just as the first newspapers, the weeklies printed during the English Civil War of the 17th Century, used newsgirls and newsboys to hawk papers in the street to attract an audience,[28]the local television stations of Columbus have taken to the electronic streets with teasers to attract a mass audience. And just as early English and American publications used sensationalism to attract mass readership, the stations in Columbus use crime and human interest stories to entice the audience, although on a much tamer scale.[29] As Mitchell writes:

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[26] Many weather stories were coded as "state of Ohio" stories. Weather was the second most popular category among the three stations.
[27] Tressel, telephone conversation.

> Local newscast producers in the United States have discovered the drawing power of murders, fires, gossip and fluff; but as a rule they include somewhat less blood, sex and depravity in their newscasts than can be found in some entertainment programs, and somewhat less than Joseph Pulitzer, for example, squeezed into his *New York World* in 1883.[30]

The three Columbus stations agree that crime stories should be teased the most, but Table One suggests some difference of opinion for other choices as stations ostensibly attempt to finetune their mass audience appeal by vying for certain demographic groups of viewers. Channel four, for example, devotes nearly 17% of its teases to popular amusements (primarily sports coverage), but de-emphasized health coverage--a favorite of channels 6 and 10. Channel six de-emphasized popular amusements in favor of human interest stories. Future studies might study the marketing strategy of stations by comparing a station's choice of topics teased to its strengths or weaknesses in ratings demographics.

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[28] Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 167.
[29] Stephens, *A History of News*, 2.
[30] Stephens, *A History of News*, 285.

The stations' high rankings of popular amusements and weather are not surprising because these topic areas form part of the news-weather-sports triad of the traditional local newscast. Moreover, as Kaniss notes, sports and weather are inherently regional in nature and help broaden the station's appeal to its metropolitan audience, which is being increasingly fragmented by suburbanization.[31] It should be noted that weather stories were especially emphasized on certain days in the sample, however, because of the harsh winter weather that hit Ohio in January, 1994.

The use of crime as a topic to be teased invites further study by scholars.. Various researchers have studied the impact of crime portrayals in news and entertainment programming on people's perceptions of crime and possible victimization.[32] Although teases are short and by their nature do not contain complete information, they do reach even non-viewers of local newscasts when inserted into entertainment programming. About one-eighth of all the teasers aired mentioned death--the ultimate human conflict and evidence that the world indeed may be mean and dangerous.

The geographic focus of the stories teased by the three stations also suggests various implications. Kaniss writes that local news outlets use coverage of the central city as a way to unify an increasingly segmented suburban audience and create a regional identity.[33] Even crime coverage can be seen as a unifying force because it reinforces the beliefs of suburbanites that they are safer not living in the central city.[34] About 46% of the teased stories in the study focused on the Columbus metropolitan area. This is much less than the 67% that Carroll found medium market stations[35] devoted to metropolitan coverage in a study of various size markets. Carroll averaged the number of minutes devoted to each geographic area in the newscast.[36]

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[31] Kaniss, 68.

[32] See, for example, George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan and Nancy Signorielli,, "The 'Mainstreaming' of America: Violence Profile No. 11," *Journal of Communication*, 29 (1979): 10-29; Garrett J. O'Keefe and Kathaleen Reid-Nash, "Crime News and Real-World Blues: The Effects of the Media on Social Reality," *Communication Research*, 14 (1987): 147-163; James W. Potter, "Perceived Reality and the Cultivation Hypothesis," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 30 (1986): 107-134; and Carolyn Stroman and Richard Seltzer, "Media Use and Perceptions of Crime," *Journalism Quarterly*, 62 (1985): 340-345.

[33] Kaniss, 68.

[34] Kaniss, 68.

It should be remembered that this study analyzed the late news of the Columbus television news stations. One would expect the early news, which airs at 6 p.m. and is followed by network newscasts in this market, to be primarily focused on "local news," because network news can fill the void of international and national news. The 11 p.m. newscast, however, must be a much more comprehensive news package--much like a local newspaper--containing both national, international and local news. The absence of national and international in the teases shows the efforts of these television news operations to get its audience to focus on local concerns, even in the late news.

Fortunately for the sleepy viewer lured to watch the 11 p.m. newscast by a cleverly worded news teaser, chances are good the story will air early. This indicates that the news teasers are indeed what the station believes are "top"stories the it has assembled for that evening. Because the tease's ultimate goal is to get viewers to watch the newscasts--where they subsequently can be enticed by internal teasers, the actual placement of teased stories is not a primary consideration of newscast promoters.[37] Teased stories also are usually supported by video or featured as "live," further evidence that a story's visual impact is an important consideration in gatekeeping decisions.[38]

Future research into teases should categorize stories in newscasts not teased as well as those which were teased. Are more substantive, "hard news" stories being placed in newscasts, but they are simply not promoted because they cannot sell a newscast? Geographic focus can also be analyzed based on stories aired and not aired. Are more national and state stories in the actual newscasts, but are not teased? Regardless of the answers, comparing what stories were available to be teased and which ones actually were teased might be enlightening.

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[35] Carroll considered markets 31-70 to be "medium" markets. Carroll, 51.

[36] Carroll, 52.

[37] Tressel, telephone conversation.

[38] Dan Berkowitz, "Refining the Gatekeeping Metaphor for Local Television News," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 34 (1990): 67.

If crime makes up 26 percent of the teases on the Columbus stations, does crime make 26 percent of the stories aired in the newscast? At least one comprehensive content analysis of the newscasts of two local stations in Chicago gives some basis of comparison. Graber found the two stations devoted about 20 percent of their stories to crime and about 28 percent of their stories to what would be considered "government" stories in the current study.[39] Perhaps the newscasts of the Columbus stations feature a greater percentage of government stories in their newscasts than the 11% featured as teasers.

The use of internal teases, which help keep the viewer tuned to the newscast, is also prime for study. Scholars interested in the significance of geographic focus of teased stories should differentiate between city coverage and metropolitan area coverage. Sports coverage should be coded as a separate category.

Increased pressure on the profit-making side of news has broad implications for journalists. The study of news teasers gives researchers an opportunity to look into the minds of news promoters to see what stories they think will "sell" their newscasts. Some argue that every market has a different taste for news and tabloid TV techniques will not work everywhere.[40] If that is indeed true, application of studies like the current one to other television markets will help determine if and how news promoters adjust their promotional techniques accordingly.

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[39] Doris A. Graber, *Crime News and The Public*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), 24-25.
[40] Lou Prato, Don't Bash Consultants for Tabloid TV News, " *American Journalism Review*, November, 1993, 44.

TABLE ONE:

TEASER EMPHASIS RANKINGS, FREQENCIES AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BY STATION

Teaser Topic	**Channel 4** **n=257**	**Channel 6** **n=310**	**Channel 10** **n=278**	**All Stations** **n=845**
Crime	1 **64** *24.8%*	1 **87** *28.1%*	1 **75** *26.9 %*	1 **226** *26.7%*
Popular Amusements (includes sports)	2 **43** *16.7%*	6 **17** *5.5%*	3 **31** *11.1%*	3 **91** *10.7%*
Weather	3 **30** *11.6%*	2 **49** 15.8%	2 **33** *11.8%*	2 **112** *13.2%*
Political Acts	4 **28** *10.9%*	5 **23** 7.4%	6 **22** *7.9%*	5 **73** *8.6%*
Accidents	5 **20** *7.8%*	9 **6** *1.9%*	9 **10** *3.6%*	9 **36** *4.3%*
Fires	6 **17** *6.6%*	8 **14** *4.5%*	8 **15** *5.4%*	7 **46** *5.4%*
Human Interest	6 **17** *6.6%*	3 **46** *14.8%*	7 **16** *5.7%*	4 **79** *9.3%*
Foreign relations/War	8 **9** *3.5%*	11 **5** *1.6%*	14 **3** *1.1%*	10 **17** *2%*
Health	9 **7** *2.7%*	4 **30** *9.7%*	4 **28** *10%*	6 **65** *7.7%*
Public Moral Problems	9 **7** *2.7%*	7 **16** *5.2%*	5 **23** *8.2%*	7 **46** *5.4%*
Natural Disasters	11 **6** *2.3%*	11 **5** *1.6%*	11 **5** *1.8%*	11 **16** *1.9%*
Economic Acts	12 **5** *1.9%*	14 **2** *.6%*	12 **4** *1.4%*	13 **11** *1.3%*
Education	13 **2** *.8%*	16 **0** *0%*	12 **4** *1.4%*	14 **6** .7%
Transportation	13 **2** *.8%*	9 **6** *1.9%*	10 **7** *2.5%*	12 **15** *1.8%*
Agriculture	15 **0** *0%*	13 **3** *1%*	15 **2** *.7%*	15 **5** *.6%*
Science	15 **0** *0%*	15 **1** *.3%*	16 **0** *0%*	16 **1** *.1%*

Boldface number is actual frequency.

TABLE TWO:

Geographic focus of all teasers by channel, frequency and percentage of total

Geographic focus of story	**Channel 4 n=258**	**Channel 6 n=310**	**Channel 10 n=279**	**All stations n=847**
Columbus metro area	134 *51.9%*	119 *38.4%*	120 *43%*	373 *44%*
State of Ohio	51 *19.8%*	56 *18.1%*	57 *20.4%*	164 *19.4%*
National stories	59 *22.9%*	96 *31%*	71 *25.4%*	226 *26.7%*
International	14 *5.4%*	12 *3.8%*	5 *1.8%*	31 *3.7%*
Indeterminable	0 0%	27 8.7%	26 9.3%	53 6.3%

TABLE THREE:

Story placement of teased stories in 11 p.m. newscast by frequency and percentage of total

Placement in newscast	**Channel 4 n= 257**	**Channel 6 n=310**	**Channel 10 n=278**	**All Stations n=845**
1st segment: lead story	63 *24.8%*	56 *18.1%*	62 *22.2%*	181 *21.4%*
1st segment: Did not lead	133 *51.6%*	167 *53.9%*	112 *40.1%*	412 *48.6%*
Other segment before weather	36 *14%*	46 *14.8%*	43 *15.4%*	125 *14.8%*
During weather only	5 1.9%	19 *6.1%*	8 *2.9%*	37 *4.4%*
After weather; before sports	2 .8%	9 2.9%	12 4.3%	23 2.7%
During sports	16 6.2%	1 .3%	11 3.9%	28 3.3%
After sports	3 1.2%	10 3.2%	15 5.4%	28 3.3%
Story never aired	0 0%	2 .6%	16 5.7%	18 2.1%

Table Four:

Collapsed Story Topic Categories by Channel

Collapsed Topic categories	Channel 4 n=257	Channel 6 n=310	Channel 10 n=278
Sensational*	114 *44%*	128 *41%*	128 *46%*
Human Interest**	97 *37%*	142 *46%*	108 *39%*
Government***	37 *14%*	28 *9%*	25 *9%*
Other Hard News****	9 *5%*	12 *4%*	17 *6%*

x^2=10.823 with 6 df: P<.10 (not significant).

Table Five:

Collapsed Story Topic Categories by Geographic Focus of Story

Collapsed Topic categories	Columbus Metropolitain area n=371	State of Ohio (outside Columbus) n=163	National and International n=258
Sensational*	192 *52%*	50 *31%*	125 *48.5%*
Human Interest**	128 *34%*	94 *57.5%*	77 *30%*
Government***	40 *11%*	18 *11%*	32 *12.5%*
Other Hard News****	11 *3%*	1 *.5 %*	24 *9%*

x^2=55.182 with 6 df: p<.001. Correlation coefficient is +.255

Fifty-three stories coded as "indeterminable" for geographic focus are not included in the above table.

*Contains stories from the crime, accidents, fires, public moral problems and natural disasters categories.
** Contains stories from the human interest, weather, health and popular amusement categories.
*** Contains stories from the political acts and war and foreign relations categories.
****Contains stories from the agriculture, economic acts, transportation, science and education categories.

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INSTITUTIONAL OWNERSHIP OF PUBLICLY TRADED U.S. NEWSPAPER COMPANIES

Robert G. Picard
Department of Commmunications
California State University, Fullerton
Fullerton, CA 92634
(714) 773-3517

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INSTITUTIONAL OWNERSHIP OF PUBLICLY TRADED U.S. NEWSPAPER COMPANIES

Concerns over the development and growth of large newspaper corporations have risen rapidly during the past three decades. These concerns have been fuelled by the growth in the number of companies offering ownership shares in various stock markets to obtain additional capital for company growth and development, as well as to acquire additional newspapers and other media and information properties.

Criticisms of large newspaper companies have tended to focus on issues of concentration of ownership and webs of ownership between newspaper firms and other types of media,[1] the causes and rationales for such ties,[2] the economic and financial effects of groups and conglomerates,[3] the effects of public ownership on managerial goals, decisions, and financial performance,[4] and the effects of large companies and public ownership on the quality of journalism.[5]

From such discussions research has arisen on the effects of public ownership on companies in the news business. Traditional economic and managerial theory holds that proprietors of firms have a greater self-interest in profit than corporate managers, but critics of public ownership of news media have contended that many newspaper proprietors have a public service orientation absent in corporate management. This journalistic theory of public ownership asserts that journalistic quality is sacrificed for the bottom line in order to satisfy the pressures of the stock market and corporate directors responding to those pressures. The journalistic theory of public ownership has been supported by some research on the question.[6]

With the exception of attention to the pressures and conflicts caused by advertising support of the industry, much that has been written about public ownership has (sometimes inadvertently, but mostly from inattention) conveyed the implicit idea that large newspaper companies are self-financing, powerful, autonomous entities able to make decisions and act at will without regard to external individuals, organizations, or forces. This perspective is superficial and ignores the significant reliance of large newspaper firms on financial institutions and investors, and the complex and tangled relations that such dependence creates.

Industry researchers who have focused on investment aspects of newspaper and other media firms have typically come from investment firms and investment banking companies. Thus, they place their focus on researching issues of financial performance of firms. This type of inquiry concentrates on individual company research considering financial growth, liquidity, profitability, financial strength, and prices of shares and analyzing them in terms of their risk and investment attractiveness.[7]

Despite concerns and the attention paid to public newspaper companies by investment researchers and communication scholars, the question of who actually owns publicly traded newspaper companies has been virtually ignored. The extent to which such ownership creates ties between different newspaper companies and the influences of the real owners of the newspaper corporations have also received little scrutiny. This study begins to address those questions by exploring the nature and extent of, and the potential conflicts and implications posed by, institutional investors' ownership of shares in newspaper companies.

Shares in public companies are held by three major categories of investors: individual investors, institutional investors, and insiders. Individuals investors are single persons who acquire ownership of shares in one or more companies. Institutional investors include insurance companies, pension plans, bank trust departments, investment firms, and individual companies.[8] Insiders are individuals who manage or direct the company who also own shares in the company, such as members of boards of directors and corporate officers, and company executives.

Most firms offer only common stock, that is, equity shares in the company with proportional rights based on share ownership to benefit from the company's success and to vote for directors and officers, to make changes in the company charter, and to approve new stock issues. Some firms, however, establish different categories of common stock that proportionally split the equity in the company, but limit or remove voting rights in one category of common stock.[9] This type of "classified" stock thus limits the control of shareholders who do not own the class of shares with the greatest voting rights, shares that are not normally publicly traded.

This study explores the scale and scope of institutional investment in public newspaper companies and the implications of this ownership. Its focus is 17 publicly traded companies that publish newspapers and the institutions that have provided capital through the acquisition of shares in those companies. The majority of the companies (13) are listed on the New York Stock Exchange, 2 are listed on the American Stock Exchange, and 2 are available through over-the-counter trading on the National Association of Securities Dealers Automated Quotation System (NASDAQ) (see Table 1). The companies combined account for about 20 percent of all daily newspapers and half of the newspaper circulation in the U.S. They include the most important newspaper groups in the nation.

TABLE 1
Publicly Traded U.S. Newspaper Companies

Newspaper Company	**Stock Exchange**
A. H. Belo Corp.	New York
Capital Cities/ABC Inc.	New York
Capitol Multimedia Inc.	NASDAQ
Central Newspapers Inc.	New York
Dow Jones & Co.	New York
Gannett Co.	New York
Knight-Ridder Inc.	New York
Lee Enterprises Inc.	New York
McClatchy Newspapers Inc.	New York
Media General Inc.	American
New York Times Co.	American
Park Communications Inc.	NASDAQ
Pulitzer Publishing Co.	New York
E. W. Scripps Co.	New York
Times Mirror Co.	New York
Tribune Co.	New York
Washington Post Co.	New York

This study focuses on institutional investors because these provide the bulk of capital invested through stock markets and because they pursue specific strategies for capital preservation and growth. They typically invest most heavily in relatively conservative or secure investments in stocks and bonds, and make investment decisions based on the financial performance of firms over time and their future performance potential. These investors tend to make and maintain investments over a long period of time. They are the single most dominant force in stock markets, especially in the New York Stock Exchange, in which they provide the majority of all capital invested.[10] The newspaper industry is particularly attractive to investors because it is a stable industry that has produced steady profits at almost twice the rate of manufacturing firms.[11] It is generally considered sensible and prudent for newspaper corporations to be a part of an investment portfolio.

Method

Ownership data for the study was collected using *Compact Disclosure*, a database containing information from public documents that publicly owned firms and certain owners must file with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). The database includes public companies with $5 million in assets and at least 500 stockholders in a single class. It is organized to provide information on the finances, management, and ownership of public companies. All of the publicly traded newspaper companies in this study were included in the database.

The researcher collected and reviewed ownership information for each of the 17 companies in the study and compiled and reorganized data from the individual companies so that ownership of multiple firms by institutional investors could be observed. The primary institutional ownership data used for the study is based on June 30, 1993, data submitted to the SEC to meet disclosure requirements. Various securities laws require disclosure of ownership and ownership changes including notice of holdings by institutional investors in public companies, the acquisition and holding of more than 5 percent of the shares of the company by any one investor for their own benefit, and the ownership and trading of shares by insiders.

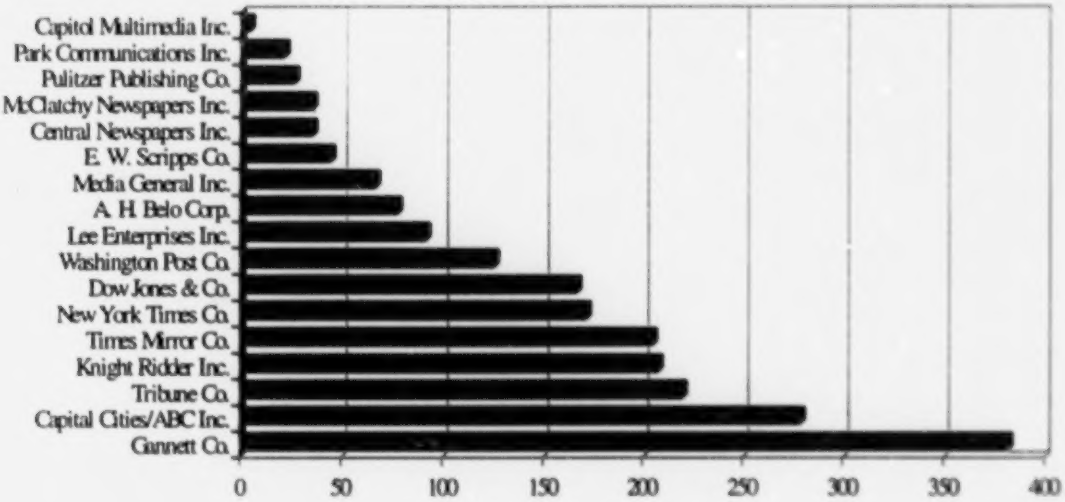
Additional data and clarifications were collected by reviewing annual reports, 10-K statements, and other public data of the companies, and through telephone calls to the corporate offices of the newspaper companies being studied.

Results

The number of institutional investors attracted to newspaper companies is understandably related to the size of those companies. Larger companies typically require greater capitalization and offer more shares to the public, and they are usually managed in a manner that makes them attractive to investors. In addition, the firms are often attractive to a larger number of investors because their reputations and performance are better known by decision makers for institutional investors.

The number of institutional investors in the newspaper companies considered here ranged from 5 for Capital Multimedia to 382 for Gannett Co., with an average (mean) of 128 (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1: Number of Institutional Investors Holding Shares in Newspaper Companies



The total market value of the investments by institutions in the newspaper companies under consideration exceeded $20.6 billion (see Table 2). The amount of investment ranges from $2 million in Capitol Multimedia Inc. to $4.8 billion in Gannett Co. and $6.5 billion in Capitol Cities/ABC Inc.

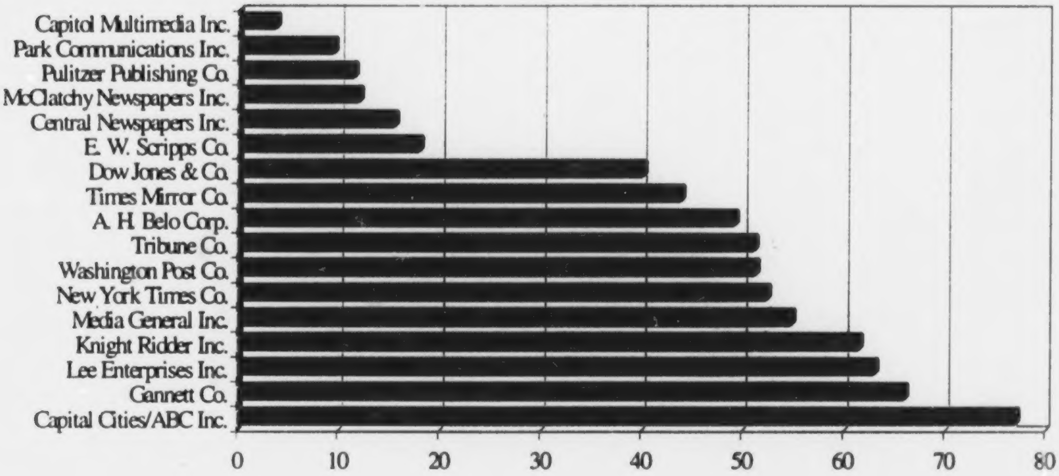
TABLE 2
Market Value of Institutional Investor Shares (in $ millions)

Newspaper Company	Market Value
A. H. Belo Corp.	453
Capital Cities/ABC Inc.	6,529
Capitol Multimedia Inc.	2
Central Newspapers Inc.	222
Dow Jones & Co.	not reported
Gannett Co.	4,821
Knight-Ridder Inc.	1,768
Lee Enterprises Inc.	256
McClatchy Newspapers Inc.	71
Media General Inc.	300
New York Times Co.	1,020
Park Communications Inc.	not reported
Pulitzer Publishing Co.	40
E. W. Scripps Co.	346
Times Mirror Co.	1,640
Tribune Co.	1,804
Washington Post Co.	1,383
Total	20,655

The proportions of newspapers companies owned by institutional investors varied widely, ranging from slightly under 4 percent for Capitol Multimedia Inc. to 77 percent for Capital Cities/ABC Inc. Institutional investors own the majority of shares in 8 of the 17 firms (see Figure 2). Because larger amounts of capital are required to create large companies, it is not surprising that the larger companies should have higher institutional ownership because institutions are the prime source of large blocks of capital investment.

Because institutional investors can purchase shares in multiple firms, the amount of investment in multiple newspaper firms by individual institutions was compiled for this study. Twenty-five institutions each own at least 5 percent of one newspaper company and 6 own 5 percent of 2 or more companies (see Table 3). The Capital Group owns more than 5 percent of Gannett Co., McClatchy Newspapers, Pulitzer Publishing, and Times Mirror Co.

FIGURE 2: Portions of Newspaper Companies Owned by Institutional Investors (in percent)



In order to gain an understanding of the role of the primary institutional investors, the top 100 institutional owners of each of the newspaper companies under scrutiny were compiled to reflect ownership of companies by institutions. The process revealed that 375 institutions are among the top 100 owners and that 205 institutions are among the top 100 owners of more than one firm. Nineteen institutions are among the top 100 institutional investors in each of ten or more newspaper companies and an additional 50 firms are among the top 100 owners of 5 to 9 companies (see Appendix I).[12] The number one rank for such institutions is held jointly by the California State Teachers Retirement plan, Mellon Bank Corp., and Wells Fargo Investment Trust (see Table 4).

TABLE 3
Institutional Investors and the Firms in which They Hold at Least 5 Percent Beneficial Ownership

Institutional Investor

- Ariel Capital Management
    - Central Newspapers Inc.
- Capital Group
    - Gannett Co.
    - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
    - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
    - Times Mirror Co.
- Chandis Securities
    - Times Mirror Co.
- First National Bank of Ohio
    - Knight-Ridder Inc.
- First Pacific Advisors
    - Lee Enterprises Inc.
    - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
- FMR Corp
    - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
    - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
- Fund American Enterprises
    - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- GAMCO Investors
    - Media General Inc.
- Heine Securities
    - A. H. Belo Corp.
- INB National Bank
    - Central Newspapers Inc.
- INVESCO Mim Plc (UK)
    - Dow Jones & Co.
    - New York Times Co.
- Luther King Capital Mgt.
    - A. H. Belo Corp.

Institutional Investor

- Morgan Grenfell Capital Mgt.
    - A. H. Belo Corp.
- J. P. Morgan and Co.
    - Washington Post Co.
- Northern Trust Corp.
    - Knight-Ridder Inc.
    - Media General Inc.
    - Tribune Co.
- T. Rowe Price
    - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
- Prime Cap Mgt. Co.
    - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
- RCM Capital Funds
    - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
- RCM Capital Management
    - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
- State Farm Mutual Auto Ins.
    - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
- State Street Bank and Trust
    - Dow Jones & Co.
- State of Wisconsin Inv. Board
    - New York Times Co.
- Wellington Management
    - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
    - E. W. Scripps Co.
- Wellington Trust
    - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
- Wells Fargo Inst.Trade Co.
    - Pulitzer Publishing Co.

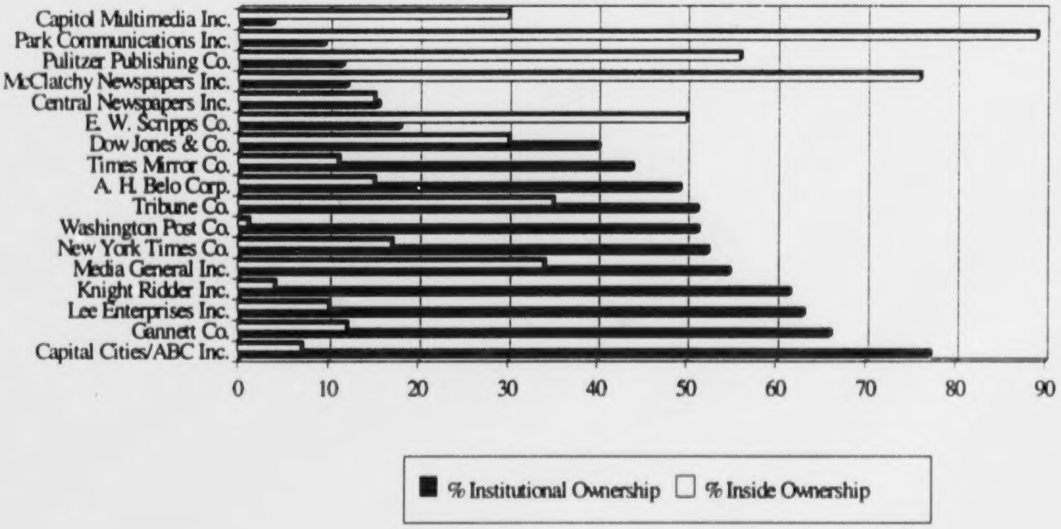
TABLE 4
Most Active Institutional Investors in Newspaper Companies

Rank	Institutional Investor	No. of Newspaper Firms in which Investor is a Top 100 Institutional Investor
1	California State Teachers Retirement	15
	Mellon Bank Corp.	15
	Wells Fargo Investment Trust	15
4	Bankers Trust	14
	Boston Company	14
	Wilshire Associates Inc.	14
7	American National Bank & Trust	13
	Fidelity Management & Research Corp.	13
	State Street Boston Corp.	13
10	Alliance Capital Management	12
	Capital Guardian Trust	12
	Comerica	12
	College Retirement Equities	12
14	IBM Retirement Plan	11
15	California Public Employees Retirement	10
	First Interstate Bancorp.	10
	Lasalle National Trust N.A.	10
	J. P. Morgan & Co. Inc.	10
	United States Trust, N.Y.	10
20	Banc One Corporation	9
	New York State Common Retirement	9
	New York State Teachers Retirement	9
	Ohio State Teachers Retirement	9
	Price, T. Rowe Associates	9
25	Capital Research and Management	8
	Chemical Banking Corp.	8
	Colorado Public Employees Retirement	8
	Prudential Insurance Co./America	8
	Russell Frank Co. Inc	8
	Travelers Corp.	8

Institutional investors have a great deal of influence on financial decisions if they own a large number of a company's shares. When institutional investors are important to a firm, they are actively courted by corporations and given regular briefings on company performance, issues, and decisions. Individual investors rarely have as much power in influencing the behavior of firms because few have sufficient capital to purchase enough shares to become significant to a company. Individuals, however, have their greatest power if they are insiders. Thus, the interplay between inside ownership and outside ownership is important. If the percentage of the company owned by institutions is very high or significantly higher than inside ownership, institutional owners will have a great deal of influence on the selection of directors and managers and the decisions made by the firm. If ownership by insiders is very high or significantly higher than the percentage owned by institutions, insiders will have greater influence and autonomy.

Figure 3 reveals the great differences in ownership portions held by institutions and insiders in the 17 newspaper firms under consideration. The influence of institutional investors on Capital Cities/ABC Inc., whose institutional ownership is 77 percent and whose insider ownership is 7 percent, would be expected to be far greater than that for Park Communications, where insider ownership is nearly 89 percent and institutional ownership is 9 percent. The average percentage of institutional ownership for the firms was 40.2 percent (standard deviation = 23.1). Four firms (Capital Cities/ABC Inc., Gannett Co., Knight-Ridder Inc., and Lee Enterprises Inc.) were 1 standard deviation above, and 5 firms (Capitol Multimedia Inc., Central Newspapers Inc., McClatchy Newspapers Inc., Pulitzer Publishing Co., and Park Communications Inc.) were 1 standard deviation below the average group.

FIGURE 3: Portions of Newspaper Companies Owned by Institutional Investors and Insiders (in percent)



The influence of any one institutional investor is heightened significantly if it has at least 5 percent ownership in a firm that it holds for its own benefit because public corporations typically have very few owners with such a large percentage of shares. Owners of more than 5 percent of a company are given a great deal of attention by corporate managers, and their views and desires carry a great deal of weight. Because of this influence, the SEC requires disclosure of the names and number of shares held by all institutions and persons owning 5 percent or more of a public company for their own benefit. The average number of 5 percent owners for the 17 newspaper corporations was 4.7 (standard deviation = 4.6), and institutional investors accounted for 2.1 of that average (standard deviation = 1.8). Fifteen of the 17 newspaper companies, in fact, had institutional owners among their 5 percent owners (see Table 5).

TABLE 5

Newspaper Companies with Institutional Investors that are 5 Percent Beneficial Owners

Newspaper Company

- A. H. Belo Corp.
    - Heine Securities Corp.
    - Luther King Capital Management
    - Morgan Grenfell Capital Management
- Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
    - State Farm Mutual Auto Insurance
- Central Newspapers Inc.
    - Ariel Capital Management
    - INB National Bank
- Dow Jones & Co. Inc.
    - INVESCO Mim Plc
    - State Street Bank & Trust
- Gannett Co. Inc.
    - Capital Group Inc.
- Knight-Ridder Inc.
    - First National Bank/Ohio
    - Northern Trust Corp.
- Lee Enterprises Inc.
    - First Pacific Advisors Inc.
    - Fund American Enterprises Holdings
- McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
    - Capital Group Inc.
    - First Pacific Advisors Inc.
    - FMR Corp.
    - Primecap Management Co.
    - RCM Capital Funds Inc.
    - RCM Capital Management
    - Wellington Management Co.
    - Wellington Trust Co.

Newspaper Company

- Media General Inc.
    - GAMCO Investors Inc.
    - Northern Trust Corp.
- New York Times Co.
    - INVESCO Mim Plc.
    - State of Wisconsin Investment Board
- Pulitzer Publishing Co.
    - Capital Group Inc.
    - FMR Corp.
    - T. Rowe Price Associates
    - Wells Fargo Inst Trade Co.
- E. W. Scripps Co.
    - Wellington Management Co.
- Times Mirror Co.
    - Capital Group Inc.
    - Chandis Securities Co.
    - Fayez S. Sarofim et al.
- Tribune Co.
    - Northern Trust Corp.
- Washington Post Co.
    - J. P. Morgan & Co. Inc.
    - J. P. Morgan & Co. Subsidiary

Similar to the situation for individuals, the greatest influence for an institutional owner occurs when the institution is also an insider, that is, when it holds a place in the management of the firm, usually as a board member. A review of the data shows that institutions hold insider positions in 4 of the newspaper corporations under study (see Table 6).

TABLE 6
Newspaper Firms with Institutional Investors as Insiders

Newspaper Company
- A. H. Belo Corp.
    - Fund American Enterprises
- Lee Enterprises Inc.
    - Fund American Enterprises

Newspaper Company
- Media General Co.
    - GAMCO Investors
    - Gabelli & Co.
- Times Mirror Co.
    - Chandis Securities

Discussion

The role of institutional investors is crucial because the ties between these capital sources and the companies in which they invest create a potential for influence in and among these newspaper firms. Three indicators can be employed to provide warning signals of the potential for influence of institutional investors on public newspaper companies: 1) the percentage of ownership by institutions as a whole; 2) the significance of 5 percent ownership by institutions; and 3) the presence of institutional owners as insiders.

Two measures were selected as a warning signal for high ownership percentage: first, ownership of more than 50 percent of a company's shares, and second, a score 1 standard deviation above the mean percentage of institutional ownership of the 17 newspaper companies.

The indicator chosen for significantly high 5 percent ownership is not merely the number of institutional 5 percent owners discussed above but rather the percentage of 5 percent owners that are institutional investors. This was done to take into account the fact that institutional owners' influence may be balanced in some fashion by the influence of noninstitutional 5 percent owners. Institutional 5 percent owners were, on the average (mean), 53.3 percent of the total 5 percent owners (standard deviation = 31.3). The warning signal thus became those firms in which the percentage of institutional 5 percent ownership falls 1 standard deviation above the mean.

The warning signal for institutional insiders was their presence alone. Table 7 reveals presence and absence of these signals among the publicly traded newspaper firms being studied.

TABLE 7
Warning Signals of Potential Institutional Investor Influence Over Newspaper Companies

Newspaper Company	**High Ownership Percentage**		**High 5% Ownership**	**Institutional Insiders**	**No. of Signals**
	>50%	**>1SD**			
Lee Enterprises Inc.	X	X	X	X	4
Capital Cities/ABC Inc.	X	X	X		3
Gannett Co. Inc.	X	X	X		3
Knight-Ridder Inc.	X	X			2
Media General Inc.	X			X	2
A. H. Belo Corp.				X	1
New York Times Co.	X				1
Times Mirror Co.				X	1
Tribune Co	X				1
Washington Post Co.	X				1
Capitol Multimedia Inc.					0
Central Newspapers Inc.					0
Dow Jones & Co.					0
McClatchy Newspapers Inc.					0
Park Communications Inc.					0
Pulitzer Publishing Co.					0
E. W. Scripps Co.					0

Newspaper companies scoring zero in Table 7 are far less likely than those scoring 4 to be directly influenced by their institutional investors. Seven of the 17 newspaper companies had none of the signals, 5 firms produced 1 of the warning signs, 2 newspaper companies showed 2 warning signals, 2 firms had 3 warning signs, and 1 company (Lee Enterprises Inc.) showed the existence of all four warning signals.

Merely because a firm shows warning signs, however, cannot be taken as evidence that institutional investors are making direct efforts to influence the firm. The mere existence of power among institutional investors, evidenced by either of the two signals of high institutional ownership, does not mean that power is being exercised. If the number of institutions holding those shares is relatively high, for example, potential influence is diffused among the different institutions. Influence is more likely to be evident where the number of institutional investors owning those shares is limited. In the cases of the firms evidencing majority ownership by institutions (8) and the four with both majority ownership and statistically higher than normal ownership by institutions, two firms (Lee Enterprises Inc. and Media General Inc.) are the most likely firms in which the ownership power may be exercised because the number of institutional investors owning those shares are well below average.

The potential influence within a firm of those institutions that have 5 percent beneficial ownership is obviously greater than that of investors that do not, and can be effectively balanced only by other investors in that category. In two of the three cases in which institutional investors have unusually high 5 percent ownership--Capital Cities/ABC Inc. and Gannett Co.--there is no other investor of any kind to balance the potential influence of a single institutional investor in the 5 percent beneficial ownership category (State Farm Mutual Auto Insurance for Capital Cities/ABC Inc. and Capital Group for Gannett Co.). In the case of Lee Enterprises Inc., there are two institutional investors nearly evenly splitting the influence between them. When and if their interests diverge their influence will balance out, and when and if their interests converge they will jointly have even greater influence.

As indicated earlier, the greatest and undeniable influence results from being an insider. Four newspapers firms have institutional investors. A. H. Belo Corp. and Lee Enterprises Inc., in fact, both have the same institutional investor (Fund American Enterprises) as an insider.

The potential for direct influence by institutional investors should be considered while contemplating the question of whether such influence is more or less harmful to lofty journalistic ideals and practices than ownership or control of newspaper companies by individual proprietors. Institutional investors are less likely to be guided by personal ambitions, purposes, and motives than individuals who might seek to influence or control newspaper firms. The psychological forces driving such individuals to influence newspaper activities are far less perceptible than the financial ambitions, purposes, and motives of institutional investors.

The extent to which specific institutional investors use their influence to promote interests other than financial performance has not yet been researched.

One must also consider the extent to which share ownership by institutional investors in limited by classified stock issue. Classified stock reduces the power of investors outside the company by reducing their voting rights within the corporation. This reduces the potential for an unwanted takeover, provides a barrier against direct control by outsiders, and provides some limited insulation from the demands of the stock market.

Of the 5 firms producing multiple warning signals of institutional ownership in Table 7, only Lee Enterprises Inc. and Media General Inc. had a limitation on the power of that ownership created by classified stock. Capital Cities/ABC Inc., the Gannett Co., and Knight-Ridder Inc. were not protected, thus leaving them more vulnerable to potential influence. It must be noted, however, that those three are exceptionally large companies, with each having more than 200 institutional investors and assets exceeding $2 billion. As a result, they would be expected to be far less vulnerable to the influence of individual institutional investors or takeover than smaller companies with fewer investors.

An issue that must be raised involves influence posed by the investments of government agencies and government-related entities in the newspaper industry. These investments, as has been shown, are made primarily by state pension and other government investment funds, but the size of the investments is considerable and raises interesting implications in the area of state-press relations. As shown in Table 4, six government pension funds are among the top 25 institutional owners of newspaper companies. The significance of government ownership is raised even higher if one considers ownership in specific companies. For example, the State of Wisconsin Investment Board is the second largest institutional investor in--and one of only seven investors to have more than 5 percent beneficial ownership of--the New York Times Co. Another significant illustration is seen in the fact that the Bureau of Investment of the Michigan Department of the Treasury owns more than 8 percent of the A. H. Belo Corp.

But even if institutional investors do not deliberately exercise influence and power within the firms, and even if newspaper firms do not reveal the presence of warning signs, one cannot necessarily infer that a company is free from more subtle influences. Han, for example, has shown that when media companies are highly dependent on capital markets, their boards of directors have a larger number of members from firms involved in capital markets.[13] It would be expected that such directors would have attitudes and approaches similar to institutional investors and that the interests of these investors would be protected and promoted by the directors making decisions. Other studies have shown that such ties between directors of companies create significant links to other major businesses that help promote the internal and external interests of all involved. More than one thousand such ties interlock boards of major media companies with the top business corporations in the U.S.[14]

The extent to which the influence of institutional investors affects the decisions of managers of major newspaper companies and the content of the newspapers they publish, and whether the ties between newspaper companies created by financing through institutional investors result in conflicts of interest and other problems, are issues of great significance. This study has revealed that the scope of institutional ownership and crossownership is of such significance that it cannot be ignored. Clearly, such issues are gaining salience as an increasing number of companies in the newspaper industry and other communications industries seeks public capital for growth. Ultimately the questions that must be answered are not merely which investors owns what and how, but questions about their intentions and strategies, and the effects of such ownership and operations. Future research should consider these issues and develop means to identify and directly measure the extent and results of these influences.

These issues clearly warrant studies of institutional behavior and decision making based on interviews with the managers and boards of public companies and observations of their public relations with investors at public meetings. Studies should explore whether there are differences in the decisions, financial performance, and content of publicly owned newspapers and newspaper groups and independent newspapers and privately owned groups, and whether the different concerns over institutional and other ownership issues raised in this study also affect managerial activities, financial performance, and content as well. Given the differences and subtleties of the ownership explored and revealed in this study, researchers can begin asking whether differences in intent, strategies, and behavior of different categories of institutional owners and individual investors, and between insiders and outsiders also have an effect on newspaper companies. This research should also determine whether there are differences between institutions that are investing on their own behalf and those investing for others, differences between investors managing mutual funds and other investment portfolios, and differences between investors managing annuity or pension investments and those who manage other portfolios for which more risks are taken. Studies should also explore whether, how, and the extent to which cross-investment by an investor in more than one newspaper company influences the decisions and behavior of all companies in which the investments are made.

Endnotes

[1] Ben Bagdikian. *The Media Monopoly*, 3rd ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1991; Herbert I. Schiller, *Who Knows? Information in the Age of the Fortune 500*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1981.

[2] Robert G. Picard, James P. Winter, Maxwell McCombs, and Stephen Lacy, eds. *Press Concentration and Monopoly: New Perspectives on Newspaper Ownership and Operations*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1988; Loren Ghiglione, ed. *The Buying and Selling of America's Newspapers*. Indianapolis: R.J. Berg, 1984.

[3] Picard et al, op cit.; Philip Meyer and Stanley T. Wearden, "The Effects of Public Ownership on Newspaper Companies: A Preliminary Inquiry," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 48:564-577 (1984).

[4] Meyers and Wearden, op cit; David P. Demers and Daniel Wackman, "Effect of Chain Ownership on Newspaper Management Goals," *Newspaper Research Journal* 9:59-68 (Winter 1988); John Soloski, "Economics and Management: The Real Influence of Newspaper Groups," *Newspaper Research Journal* 1:19-28 (November 1979); William B. Blankenburg and Gary W. Ozanich, "The Effects of Public Ownership on the Financial Performance of Newspaper Corporations," *Journalism Quarterly* 70(1):68-75 (Spring 1993).

[5] Bagdikian, op cit.; Douglas Underwood, *When MBAs Rule the Newsroom*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993; David P. Demers, "Corporate Stuctures and Emphasis on Profits and Product Quality at U.S. Daily Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly* 68(1/2):15-26 (Spring/Summer 1991); Stephen Lacy, "Effects of Group Ownership on Daily Newspaper Content," *Journal of Media Economics* 4(1):35-47 (Spring 1991).

[6] Blankenburg and Ozanich, op cit.; John Busterna, "How Managerial Ownership Affects Profit Maximization in Newspaper Firms," *Journalism Quarterly* 66:302-207, 358 (Summer 1988).

[7] Many investment-related institutions produce such analyses, but some of the better known reports include *Communication Industry Report*. New York: Vernonis, Suhler & Associates, annual; Standard and Poor's, *Industry Surveys;* and Moody's *Investment Guides*.

[8] For background information on investors, stock markets, and other capital markets, see: Herbert E. Dougall and Jack E. Gaumnitz, *Capital Markets and Institutions* 5th ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1986; David S. Kidwell and Richard L. Peterson, *Financial institutions, Markets and Money* 3rd ed. Chicago: Dryden Press, 1987; and Benton E. Gup, *The Basics of Investing* 3rd. ed. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1987.

[9] Sid Mittra and Chris Gassen. *Investment Analysis and Portfolio Management*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981.

[10] Charles P. Jones, *Investments: Analysis and Management* 2nd ed. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1988, pp. 232-233.

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[11] Robert G. Picard, *Media Economics: Concepts and Issues*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1989; Alison Alexander, James Owers, and Rodney Carveth, eds. *Media Economics: Theory and Practice*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1993.

[12] Identities of institutional investors for two companies, Dow Jones & Co. and Park Communications Inc, were not listed in the *Compact Disclosure* database, so data related to their ownership and cross ownership among the investors is missing from this tabulation.

[13] Kyun-Tae Han, "Composition of Boards of Directors of Major Media Corporations," *Journal of Media Economics* 1(2):85-100 (Fall 1988).

[14] P. C. Dooley, "The Interlocking Directorate," *American Economic Review* 59:314-323 (1969); Peter Drier and Steven Weinberg, "Interlocking Directorates," *Columbia Journalism Review* (November/December 1979), pp. 51-68.

APPENDIX I

INVESTORS AMONG THE TOP 100 INSTITUTIONAL INVESTORS IN ONE OR MORE PUBLICLY TRADED US NEWSPAPER COMPANY[1]

- AETNA LIFE & CASUALTY CO
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- AID ASSOCIATION FOR LUTHERANS
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- A I M MANAGEMENT GROUP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Tribune Co.
- ALLEGHANY CORPORATION
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
- ALLENDALE INSURANCE CO
  - Tribune Co.
- ALLIANCE CAPITAL MGMT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- ALLIED SIGNAL INC
  - Tribune Co.
- ALLSTATE AGENTS PENSION
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- ALLSTATE INSURANCE CO
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- ALLSTATE LIFE INSURANCE
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- ALLSTATE RETIREMENT PLAN
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- AMCORE TRUST COMPANY
  - Washington Post Co.
- AMERICAN CAPITAL MANAGEMENT & RESEARCH
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Tribune Co.
- AMERICAN GENERAL CORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- AMERICAN NATIONAL BANK & TRUST/CHICAGO
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- AMICA MUTUAL INSURANCE CO
  - New York Times Co.
- AMICA PENSION FUND BD TR
  - New York Times Co.
- ARGUS INVESTORS COUNSEL
  - Gannett Co.
- ARIEL CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Tribune Co.
- ATLANTIC RICHFIELD CO
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- BABSON, DAVID L & CO
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- BAHL & GAYNOR INC
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- BAIRD ROBERT W & CO INC
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- BANC ONE CORPORATION
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
- BANKAMERICA CORP
  - Times Mirror Co.
- BANK OF BOSTON CORP
  - Tribune Co.
- BANK OF NEW YORK
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- BANK OF TOKYO LTD
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
- BANK SOUTH
  - Times Mirror Co.
- BANKERS TRUST
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- BANYAN CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - Media General Inc.
- BARCLAYS BANK PLC
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- BARTLETT & CO
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
- BEA ASSOCIATES INC.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- BECK MACK & OLIVER
  - Washington Post Co.
- BEESE FULMER & PINCOE
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
- BENEFIT CAPITAL (UNION CARB)
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- BENHAM MANAGEMENT CORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- BERKSHIRE HATHAWAY INC
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- BERNSTEIN SANFORD C & CO
  - Times Mirror Co.
- BESSEMER TRUST CO N. A.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- BESSEMER TRUST CO/FLORIDA
  - Tribune Co.
- BEUTEL GOODMAN CAPITAL LTD
  - New York Times Co.
- BISHOP TRUST COMPANY LTD
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- BLAIR WM & CO INVT MGMT
  - Tribune Co.
- BOATMEN'S BANCSHARES INC
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.

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[1] Identities of institutional investors for two companies, Dow Jones & Co. and Park Communications Inc., were not listed in the *Compact Disclosure* database so data related to their ownership and cross ownership among the investors is missing from this compilation.

- BOSTON CO INC.
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- BREAU CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - Washington Post Co.
- BREEN, DANIEL & CO
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- BRISTOL, JOHN W & CO
  - Tribune Co.
- BROWN, ALEX INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
- BROWN BRTHRS HARRIMAN & CO
  - New York Times Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- CALIFORNIA PUBLIC EMPLOYEES RETIREMENT SYSTEM
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- CALIF STATE TEACHERS RETIREMENT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Capitol Multimedia Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- CAPITAL GUARDIAN TRUST
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- CAPITAL INTL LIMITED
  - Gannett Co.
- CAPITAL RESEARCH & MGMT
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- CENTRAL FIDELITY BANK
  - Media General Inc.
- CENTURA BANK INC
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- CHANCELLOR CAPITAL MGMT
  - Gannett Co.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- CHASE MANHATTAN CORP
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- CHEMICAL BANKING CORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- CHEMUNG CANAL TRUST CO
  - Gannett Co.
- CIGNA CORPORATION
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- CITICORP
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- CITY CAPITAL COUNSELING
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- COLLEGE RETIREMENT EQUITIES
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- COLONIAL MANAGEMENT ASSOCS
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- COLORADO PUBLIC EMPLOYEES RETIREMENT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- COLUMBIA MANAGEMENT CO
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Tribune Co.
- COMERICA INC
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- COMMERCE BANKSHARES INC
  - Media General Inc.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
- COMMERCE CAPITAL MGMT
  - New York Times Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- COMMONWLTH INVESTMENT COUNSEL
  - Media General Inc.
- CONNOR CLARK & CO LTD
  - New York Times Co.
- CONTINENTAL BANK N.A.
  - Tribune Co.
- CONTINENTAL TRUST CO
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- COOK & BIELER INC
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- CORESTATES BANK N. A.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- CRESTAR BANK/VIRGINIA
  - Gannett Co.
  - Media General Inc.
- CS FIRST BOSTON INC
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- CSI ASSET MANAGEMENT INC
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- CSX CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - Times Mirror Co.
- CULLEN/FROST BANKERS INC
  - Tribune Co.

- CUMBERLAND ASSOCIATES
  - Media General Inc.
- CYPRESS CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - New York Times Co.
- DALTON GREINER HARTMAN
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
- DAVENPORT BANK & TRUST CO
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- DAVENPORT & CO OF VIRGINIA
  - Media General Inc.
- DEAN, C H & ASSOCIATES
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- DEERE & CO
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- DELAWARE MANAGEMENT CO
  - Times Mirror Co.
- DELPHI MANAGEMENT INC
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
- DENVER INVESTMENT ADVISORS
  - Gannett Co.
- DEWEY SQUARE INVESTORS
  - Gannett Co.
- DODGE & COX
  - Times Mirror Co.
- DREYFUS CORPORATION
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
- DSI INTL MANAGEMENT INC
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- DUFF & PHELPS INVT MGMT
  - Gannett Co.
- DUKE ENDOWMENT
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- EAGLE ASSET MANAGEMENT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- EATON VANCE MANAGEMENT
  - Gannett Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- EDGEWOOD MANAGEMENT CO
  - Tribune Co.
- ELFUN TRUSTS
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- ESSEX INVESTMENT MGMT CO
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
- EQUITABLE COMPANIES INC
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
- FAHNESTOCK ASSET MGMT
  - Times Mirror Co.
- FIDELITY MANAGEMENT & RESEARCH CORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- FIDUCIARY TRUST CO/ MASSACHUSETTS
  - Gannett Co.
- FIDUCIARY TRUST CO INTL
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- FIRST ALABAMA BCSHS INC
  - Times Mirror Co.
- FIRST AMERICAN CORP
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
- FIRST BANK SYSTEM INC
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
- FIRST CHICAGO CORP
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- FIRST COMMERCE INVESTORS
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- FIRST COMMERCIAL TRUST
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- FIRST FIDELITY BANCORP
  - Gannett Co.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- FIRST INTERSTATE BANCORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- FIRST INVESTORS MANAGEMENT
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
- FIRST MANHATTAN CO
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- FIRST MIDWEST TRUST CO
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- FIRST NATIONAL BANK/OHIO
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- FIRST NATIONAL BANK/OMAHA
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
- FIRST OF AMERICA BANK
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- FIRST PACIFIC ADVISORS
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
- FIRST QUADRANT CORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
- FIRST TENNESSEE NATIONAL CO
  - Media General Inc.
- FIRST UNION CORPORATION
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- FIRSTAR CORPORATION
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- FIRSTIER FINANCIAL INC
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- FLEET FINANCIAL GROUP INC
  - Gannett Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- FLEMING ROBERT (FLEM CAP)
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Tribune Co.
- FLORIDA STATE BOARD/ADMIN
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- FONTAINE, RICHARD ASSOCIATES
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- FORD FOUNDATION
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- FUND AMERICAN ENTERPRS
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- FURMAN SELZ INC
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.

- FURMAN SELZ CAPITAL MGMT
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- GABELLI FUNDS INC
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
- GAMCO INVESTORS INC
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
- GARDNER INVESTMENTS
  - Washington Post Co.
- GEEWAX TERKER & COMPANY
  - Tribune Co.
- GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- GENERAL ELECTRIC PENSION TRUST
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- GENERAL MOTORS INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- GLENDEVEN MGMT & RES INC
  - Times Mirror Co.
- GOFEN & GLOSSBERG INC
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- GOLDMAN ASSET MANAGEMENT
  - Tribune Co.
- GRANTHAM MAYO VAN OTTER
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- GRUMAN CORP PENSION FUND
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- GSB INVESTMENT COUNSEL
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
- GTE INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
- GULF INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- HAGLER MASTROVITA & HEWITT
  - New York Times Co.
- HARRIS ASSOCIATES
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- HARRIS BANKCORP INC
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- HARTFORD FIRE INSURANCE
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- HARTWELL, J M & CO INC
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
- HARVARD COLLEGE
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- HAVEN CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - Tribune Co.
- HAWAII TRUST CO LTD
  - Gannett Co.
- HEINE SECURITIES CORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - New York Times Co.
- HOWARD HUGHES MEDICAL INSTITUTE
  - Gannett Co.
- HOVEY YOUNGMAN ASSOCIATES
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
- HSBC HOLDINGS PLC
  - Gannett Co.
- IBM RETIREMENT PLAN
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- IDS FINANCIAL CORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- INB FINANCIAL CORP
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
- INDEPENDENCE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATES
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- INTEGRA FINANCIAL CORP
  - Gannett Co.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Tribune Co.
- INVESCO PLC
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- INVESCO CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- INVESCO FUNDS GROUP
  - Tribune Co.
- INVESTMENT ADVISERS INC
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- INVESTMENT ADVISORY SVCS
  - Media General Inc.
- INVESTMENT RESEARCH CO
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- INVESTORS RESEARCH CORP
  - Gannett Co.
- INVISTA CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- JEFFERSON NATIONAL BANK
  - Media General Inc.
- JEFFERSON PILOT CORP
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- JENNISON ASSOCIATES CAPITAL
  - New York Times Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- KAYNE ANDERSON INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT
  - Gannett Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- KEMPER FINANCIAL SERVICES
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
- KENNEDY ASSOCIATES INC
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- KENTUCKY TEACHERS RETIREMENT
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- KEYCORP
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
- KEYSTONE CUSTODIAN FUNDS
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- KEYSTONE INVESTMENT MGMT
  - New York Times Co.
- KIDDER PEABODY & CO
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
- KIRKPATRICK PETTIS SMITH
  - Washington Post Co.
- KLINGENSTEIN FIELDS & CO
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- LAIRD NORTON TRUST CO
  - Tribune Co.
- LAKE SHORE NATIONAL BANK
  - Tribune Co.
- LAKESIDE ASSET MANAGEMENT
  - Washington Post Co.

- LASALLE NATIONAL TRUST N.A.
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- LAZARD FRERES & CO
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- LEGAL & GENERAL GROUP
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- LEGG MASON CAPITAL MGMT
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
- LEXINGTON MANAGEMENT CO
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- LINCOLN CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- LINCOLN NATIONAL CORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- LOOMIS SAYLES & COMPANY
  - Gannett Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- LORD ABBETT & COMPANY
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- LOWE BROCKENBROUGH & TIERN
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
- LUTHER KING CAPITAL MGMT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Gannett Co.
- MANUFACTURERS LIFE INSURANCE
  - Gannett Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
- MARINVEST INC
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
- MARSHALL & ILSLEY CORP
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
- MASSACHUSETTS FINANCIAL SERVICES
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Tribune Co.
- MELLON BANK CORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Capitol Multimedia Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- MCMORGAN & COMPANY
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- MERCANTILE BANKSHARES CO
  - Gannett Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- MERRILL LYNCH ASSET MGMT
  - Gannett Co.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- MERRILL LYNCH PIERCE F & S
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- MESIROW ASSET MANAGEMENT
  - Washington Post Co.
- MICHIGAN STATE TREASURER
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- MIDLANTIC CORPORATION
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
- MITCHELLS HUTCHINS INVESTMENTS
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
- MNC FINANCIAL INC
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- MONTGOMERY ASSET MANAGEMENT LP
  - Capitol Multimedia Inc.
- MORAN ASSET MANAGEMENT
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
- MORGAN GRENFELL CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- MORGAN, J P & CO INC
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- MORGAN STANLEY GROUP INC
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- MORSE WILLIAMS & CO INC
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
- MPI INVESTMENT MGMT
  - Times Mirror Co.
- NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE/TENNESSEE
  - New York Times Co.
- NATIONAL CITY BANK/CLEVELAND
  - Media General Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- NATIONAL CITY BANK/INDIANA
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
- NATIONAL CITY BANK/KENTUCKY
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- NATIONAL CITY BANK/NO EAST
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- NATIONAL INVESTMENT SVCS/AMERICA
  - Tribune Co.
- NATIONAL LIFE INSURANCE
  - Times Mirror Co.
- NATIONAL SECURITIES & RES CP
  - Tribune Co.
- NATIONAL WESTMINSTER BK PLC
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- NATIONSBANK CORPORATION
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- NATIONWIDE FINANCIAL SERVICE
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- NATIONWIDE MUTUAL INSURANCE
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- NBD BANCORP INC
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- NCM CAPITAL MGMT GROUP INC
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- NEUBERGER & BERMAN
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

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- NEUBERGER & BERMAN INVESTMENT ASSOCIATES
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- NEUBERGER & BERMAN MGMT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- NEVILLE RODIE & SHAW INC
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.

- NEW MEXICO EDUCATION RETIREMENT BOARD
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- NEW YORK STATE COMMON RETIREMENT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- NEW YORK STATE TEACHERS RETIREMENT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.

- NICHOLAS CO INC
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.

- NORTHERN TRUST CORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.

- NORTHWESTERN MUTUAL LIFE
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.

- NORWEST BANK/IOWA N. A.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.

- NORWEST BANK/ MINNESOTA N. A.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- NORWEST BANK/NEBRASKA
  - Washington Post Co.

- NORWESTCAPITAL MGMT/ MONTANA
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.

- OHIO SCHOOL EMP RETIREMENT
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.

- OHIO STATE TEACHERS RETIREMENT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- OPPENHEIMER & CO LP
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.

- OSTERWEIS CAPITAL MGMT
  - Washington Post Co.

- PACIFIC MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE
  - A. H. Belo Corp.

- PAINEWEBBER INC
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.

- PALOMA SECURITIES L P
  - Times Mirror Co.

- PANAGORA ASSET MANAGEMENT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- PHOENIX MUTUAL LIFE INS
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.

- PINE TREE CAPITAL LP
  - E. W. Scripps Co.

- PINNACLE ASSOCIATES LTD
  - Media General Inc.

- PIONEERING MANAGEMENT CORP
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.

- PIPER CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.

- PITCAIRN GROUP LP
  - Knight Ridder Inc.

- PNC FINANCIAL CORP
  - Gannett Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.

- PRICE, T ROWE ASSOCIATES
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- PRIMECAP MANAGEMENT CO
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.

- PRIVATE CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - Washington Post Co.

- PRUDENTIAL CORPORATION PLC
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Tribune Co.

- PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE CO/ AMERICA
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- PRUDENTIAL SECURITIES INC
  - Media General Inc.

- PUTNAM INVESTMENT MGMT
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.

- RAMPART INVESTMENT MGMT
  - Times Mirror Co.

- RCB TRUST CO
  - Capitol Multimedia Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.

- RCM CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- REED CONNER & BIRDWELL
  - Knight Ridder Inc.

- REGENT INVESTOR SERVICES INC
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.

- REICH & TANG LP
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.

- RENBERG DANIEL H. & ASSOC
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.

- RICE WILLIAM MARSH UNIV
  - Times Mirror Co.

- RIGGS NATIONAL BANK/D C
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- ROCKEFELLER UNIVERSITY
  - A. H. Belo Corp.

- **ROSENBERG INSTITUTIONAL EQUITIES MANAGEMENT**
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.

- **ROTHSCHILD ASSET MGMT**
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **ROXBURY CAPITAL MGMT**
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- **ROYAL LONDON MUTUAL INS**
  - New York Times Co.

- **RUANE CUNNIFF & CO**
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **RUSSELL FRANK CO INC**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **SALEM INVESTMENT COUNSELORS**
  - Media General Inc.

- **SANDLER, HARVEY**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Tribune Co.

- **SAROFIM FAYEZ**
  - Times Mirror Co.

- **SCHRODER CAPITAL MGMT INTL**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.

- **SCHWAB, CHARLES INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.

- **SCUDDER STEVENS & CLARK**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **SEABOARD INVESTMENT ADVISERS**
  - Gannett Co.

- **SEARS INVESTMENT MGMT**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.

- **SELECTED FINANCIAL SERVICES**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Tribune Co.

- **SELECTED/VENTURE ADVS LP**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Tribune Co.

- **SELIGMAN JW & COMPANY**
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.

- **SHAWMUT NATIONAL CORP**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.

- **SHEARSON LEHMAN BROTHERS**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Tribune Co.

- **SHEFFIELD INVESTMENT MGMT**
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.

- **SHIELDS ASSET MANAGEMENT**
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.

- **SIPHRON CAPITAL MANAGEMENT**
  - New York Times Co.

- **SIT INVESMENT ASSOCIATES**
  - Knight Ridder Inc.

- **SMITH BARNEY INC**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **SOCIETY CORPORATION**
  - Gannett Co.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **SOROS FUND MANAGEMENT CO**
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - New York Times Co.

- **SOUTHEASTERN ASSET MGMT**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.

- **SOUTHERN FIDUCIARY GROUP**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **SOUTHTRUST BANK OF ALABAMA**
  - Times Mirror Co.

- **SPEARS BENZAK SALOMON**
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **SPEECE LEWIS & THORSON**
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.

- **ST PAUL COMPANIES INC**
  - Knight Ridder Inc.

- **STAR BANK N. A/CINCINNATI**
  - E. W. Scripps Co.

- **STATE FARM INVESTMENT MGMT**
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.

- **STATE FARM MUTUAL AUTO INSURANCE**
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **STATE STREET BOSTON CORP**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **STATISTICAL SCIENCES INC**
  - Media General Inc.

- **STEIN ROE & FARNHAM**
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **SUNAMERICA ASSET MGMT**
  - E. W. Scripps Co.

- **SUNBANK CAPITAL MGMT N. A.**
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.

- **SUN BANKS OF FLORIDA**
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.

- **SYSTEMATIC FINANCIAL MGMT**
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.

- **TCW MANAGEMENT CO**
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.

- TEAM BANK
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - New York Times Co.
- TEXAS TEACHER RETIREMENT SYSTEM
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- THOMPSON UNGER & PLUMB
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
- THOMSON ADVISORY GROUP LP
  - Tribune Co.
- THIRD NATIONAL BANK/ NASHVILLE
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- TIRSCHWELL & LOEWY INC
  - Tribune Co.
- TORRAY, ROBERT E & CO
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- TOWNELEY CAPITAL MGMT
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
- TRAINER WORTHAM & CO INC
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
- TRAVELERS CORP
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- TREVOR STEWART BURTON
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- TRINITY INVESTMENT MGMT
  - Media General Inc.
- TRUST CO BANK OF GEORGIA
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- TUKMAN CAPITAL MANAGEMENT
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
- TWEEDY BROWNE CO. LP
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
- UBS ASSET MGMT (NY)
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- UNITED MISSOURI BANK/K.C.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
- UNITED STATES TRUST/BOSTON
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- UNITED STATES TRUST/NY
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- USAA INVESTMENT MGMT
  - Tribune Co.
- US STEEL & CARNEGIE PNS
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- U S WEST INC
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- VALUE LINE INC
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- VALUEQUEST LTD
  - Times Mirror Co.
- VANTAGE GLOBAL ADVISORS
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
- WACHOVIA CORPORATION
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- WADDELL & REED INC
  - Gannett Co.
  - New York Times Co.
- WARBURG PINCUS COUNSELLR
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- WEISS PECK & GREER
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
- WEITZ, WALLACE R & CO
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - Washington Post Co.
- WELCH & FORBES INC
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- WELLINGTON MANAGEMENT
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- WELLS FARGO BANK N.A.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- WELLS FARGO INST. TRUST N.A.
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Capitol Multimedia Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- WELLS FARGO NIKKO INV
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- WERTHEIM SCHRODER & CO
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- WESTERN & SOUTHERN LIFE
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
- WESTFIELD CAPITAL MGMT
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
- WILMINGTON TRUST CO
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- WILSHIRE ASSOCIATES INC
  - A. H. Belo Corp.
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - Central Newspapers Inc.
  - Gannett Co.
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - Knight Ridder Inc.
  - McClatchy Newspapers Inc.
  - Media General Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Pulitzer Publishing Co.
  - E. W. Scripps Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
  - Tribune Co.
  - Washington Post Co.
- WISCONSIN INVESTMENT BOARD
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Tribune Co.
- WOOD STRUTHERS & WINTHROP
  - Capital Cities/ABC Inc.
  - New York Times Co.
  - Times Mirror Co.
- WRIGHT INVESTORS SERVICE
  - Lee Enterprises Inc.
- YACKTMAN ASSET MGMT CO
  - Washington Post Co.
- ZWEIG/GLASER ADVISERS
  - Media General Inc.
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A Study of The Relationship between Newspaper Subscription Price and Circulation from 1971 to 1992

Regina Lewis
Doctoral Student

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
Howell Hall, CB# 3365
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3365

Phone: (919) 962-1465; Fax: (919) 968-4225

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A Study of The Relationship between Newspaper Subscription Price and Circulation from 1971 to 1992

Abstract (75 words)

The purpose of this paper was to provide information about the effects of newspaper subscription price increases on circulation from 1971 to 1992 for a random sample of daily newspapers. After Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed for circulation and price variables, and multiple regression analyses were run where circulation served as a dependent variable, pricing served as an independent variable and various population and economic measures served as control variables, the theory of a price inelastic circulation demand curve was confirmed.

A Study of The Relationship between Newspaper Subscription Price and Circulation from 1971 to 1992

Abstract (150 words)

The purpose of this paper was to provide information about the effects of newspaper subscription price increases on circulation from 1971 to 1992 for a random sample of daily newspapers. Although a few contradictions exist between the results of this study and former findings with regard to the price/circulation relationship, the analysis generally confirms the theory of a price inelastic circulation demand curve.

Pearson correlation coefficients indicated that significant negative relationships existed between newspaper price and newspaper circulation over the 22-year period for fewer than half of the daily newspapers studied. Linear regression models including several population and economic control variables failed to reveal conclusively that price made significant contributions to circulation trends over this period. A low overall daily newspaper price elasticity measure of -.203 was derived.

A Study of The Relationship between Newspaper Subscription Price and Circulation from 1971 to 1992

Introduction

It is a widespread belief among those who study newspaper economics that the demand for newspapers is price insensitive. This view has been expressed by newspaper management scholars and economists since the late 1950s; numerous studies have generated results showing that newspaper price hikes are unlikely to lead to levels of circulation fall off that significantly harm publishers. Despite the conclusion reached by academics that the demand for newspapers is price inelastic, however, many newspaper executives continue to attribute circulation losses to price increases.

This study represents an attempt to provide further information about the effects of newspaper price increases on circulation by examining pricing and circulation trends for a random sample of daily newspapers over the period from 1971 to 1992. Although a fair amount of research has been conducted about the effects of pricing on circulation levels, the topic merits more analysis. Many studies of newspaper price elasticity were conducted in the 1970s, and are, therefore, somewhat outdated. Others were conducted outside of the United States and may not provide results generalizable to the U.S. market. Still others have been limited in terms of the period of time analyzed, the number of papers studied or the number of variables examined.

Literature Review

Newspaper industry analysts agree almost unanimously that the demand for newspapers is price insensitive. They argue the relationship between newspaper price and circulation is vague at best.

Over 35 years ago, Landau and Davenport (1958) said, "The sales price of a newspaper ... is expressed neither by the interaction between Supply and Demand nor by a relationship to production cost factors. Price determination is purely arbitrary." In 1961, Gallup advised newspaper publishers to raise newspaper prices from the 5 cents typically charged at that time to 15 cents after a survey indicated overwhelming audience receptiveness to a price hike (*Editor and Publisher* 1961).

By the end of the 1970s, a great deal of evidence had been amassed supporting the theory of inelasticity of the newspaper demand curve. Clark (1976) reported, based on a study conducted on a random sample of 202 daily newspapers, that newspaper price increases were accompanied by circulation decreases only 39 percent of the time. He concluded that a point of diminishing return with regard to increasing subscription prices had not been reached by the majority of U.S. newspapers. Clark considered newspapers with circulations of 50,000 or less to be particularly unsusceptible to fall off following price increases.

Grotta (1977), in an attempt to provide newspaper executives with more concrete data for use in decision-making, conducted a study of the elasticity of demand for newspapers during spring 1976. He posed the hypothesis, based on the results of prior industry studies, that the demand curve for circulation would be highly inelastic.

Grotta collected data on circulation changes, per copy price and area population for all daily newspapers published in the United States in the years 1970 and 1975. He performed both descriptive and regression analyses on this data using SPSS. Analyses were performed on the newspapers in aggregate, and then on morning, evening, all-day and Sunday newspapers separately in an attempt to determine whether elasticities differed among different newspaper types.

Not surprisingly, Grotta found that for all papers, circulation increased as area population increased. He also found that as price increased, circulation decreased -- but none of these correlations was significant at the .05 level. In addition, the correlation between percentage price change and percentage circulation change was very low. This indicated, according to Grotta, that "a relatively large percentage increase in price resulted in a much smaller percentage decrease in circulation." When Grotta held population change constant, he found that increased prices resulted in very small decreases in circulation.

Grotta performed multiple regression in an attempt to further define the relationship between price and circulation. The regression equation was expressed as follows: $Y' = A + x1$ (percent population change) $+ x2$ (percent price change). He entered "percent change in population" as the Step 1 independent variable and "percent change in price" as the Step 2 independent variable. The R Squared was .00685 with both variables entered in the equation; neither variable contributed significantly to circulation at the .05 level.

When Grotta solved the regression equations for morning and evening papers assuming a 50 percent price increase and holding percentage population change constant at zero, he arrived at circulation decreases of .88 percent for morning newspapers 1.32 percent for evening newspapers.

Grotta concluded that the demand for newspaper circulation from 1970 to 1975 was highly inelastic. He said, "We must search for deeper, more complex explanations of circulation changes than price and population changes, either alone or in combination."

Researchers in the United Kingdom arrived at similar conclusions regarding newspaper price elasticity in the 1970s. Reekie (1976), after analyzing the price elasticity of demand for evening newspapers in the UK via a model comparable to that employed in pooled cross-sectional and times series studies, concluded that a "very price insensitive market" for newspapers existed there, as well.

Despite this body of statistical evidence pointing to a weak relationship between newspaper price and circulation, however, many of those who studied mid-1970s newspaper industry trends continued to blame the decline in average circulation per household which occurred during those years on circulation price increases. Udell (1978), in a fairly comprehensive study of American newspaper economics, responded to these analysts.

Udell admitted that during the circulation growth years of the 1950s (which saw a 9.4 percent increase in circulation) and the 1960s (which saw a 5.2 percent increase in circulation), newspaper prices remained fairly constant; they increased at the low average rate of 4.7 percent per year from 1964 to 1973. He admitted that newspaper subscription and newsstand prices rose dramatically beginning in 1973 due to rising costs of doing business and an economic slump that affected advertising revenue. But, Udell argued, revenue per average unit of daily circulation rose 31.4 percent from 1973 to 1975, and this sizable aggregate price increase resulted in industry circulation losses of only 4 percent to daily papers and 1.2 percent to Sunday papers.

Udell didn't completely disagree with the theory that price negatively affected circulation levels; at one point in his analysis he said, "Low rates enhance market penetration." He did argue, however, that price was only one of several factors affecting newspaper circulation levels.

Udell also argued against the common assumption that price hikes forced significantly higher levels of circulation fall off in multi-newspaper markets than in single-newspaper markets. He said that because circulation losses in the 1970s were greatest in multi-newspaper markets, newspaper industry analysts inaccurately reported that newspaper demand was less elastic in single-newspaper markets than in multi-newspaper markets. He made the following argument:

> "Even if newspapers had not raised subscription rates, the combination inflation and recession would have produced some reduction in the number of two-paper households. While one might think that the daily newspaper is too inexpensive to be affected by general economic trends … the fact is that American consumers spend over $3 billion annually for daily newspapers. Any expenditure of this magnitude is affected by economic developments."

Compaine (1980) dedicated a book to newspaper economics in which he attempted to identify factors that affected circulation levels. As background, he noted that circulation levels "stalled in the mid 1960s, edged to a peak in 1973, then retreated to levels of the previous decade before beginning to inch upward.… Between 1960 and 1978, net newspaper circulation increased only 5.3 percent."

Compaine, like Udell, discussed the reasons given by industry analysts for declining circulation levels, and addressed concerns that rising circulation prices played a major role. He discussed newspaper pricing trends, saying, "As recently as 1972, 1407 dailies still charged 10 cents for the daily paper, and only 350 charged 15 cents. By the end of 1978, most papers -- 1031 -- were up to the higher figure, with only 140 at 10 cents. More papers -- 56 in all -- charged 25 cents, while the predominant trend was toward the 20 cent daily, the rate for 56 newspapers in 1978."

But, Compaine said,

> "The increased price of newspapers can only be a contributing factor to the sluggish circulation gains and, at the least, may have helped to discourage multiple newspaper households. The small and medium-sized papers owned by one group have noted the biggest fall off in subscribers among the older, fixed-income readers… A drop of five percent in Sunday circulation followed after a boost in price from 35 cents to 50 cents."

In discussing the effects of price increases on circulation over a 10 year period, Compaine cited Clark's study, saying that "in 239 cases of price increases from 202 daily newspapers picked in a random sample, circulation continued to climb in 142 instances (59.4 percent)." Compaine noted Clark's contention that the results of price increases on newspaper circulation could vary according to newspaper size. He said Clark's study indicated that the larger a newspaper's circulation, the greater the elasticity; that is, among larger newspapers, circulation is more likely to decline if the price is raised. Since Clark found a correlation between circulation size and decreased circulation of -.94, Compaine concluded, "smaller newspapers, perhaps more often in one-newspaper communities and more affluent suburbs, face fewer difficulties in passing on circulation increases than bigger city papers." However, Compaine admitted, "the alternative is that the smaller papers are younger or are in expanding towns which have brought natural growth. In the absence of a control group of newspapers, it cannot be known how much more the smaller papers may have grown without the price hikes."

Compaine shared Udell's belief that "the effects of inflation (in the 1970s) have caused families to make adjustments in their lifestyles as well." He pointed to a 1974-75 study by Yankelovich, Skelly and White (*The General Mills American Family Report 1974-75* 1975) which reported that "21 percent of families considered cutting back on magazine and newspaper subscriptions as one aspect of coping."

Compaine also emphasized that some circulation was eliminated in the 1970s by newspaper publishers in an attempt to reduce their delivery areas and thus control their circulation fuel and labor costs. He pointed to *The Salt Lake City Tribune* and *Deseret News*, which eliminated circulation to over 12,000 subscribers in 1973 when they stopped circulating to neighboring states, and the *Portland Oregonian* and *Oregon Journal* which stopped taking out-of-state orders in the early 1970s.

Recent articles continue to support the theory that newspaper demand is price inelastic in the United States and elsewhere. Thompson (1989), in analyzing the determination of circulation, advertising rates and cover price for newspapers in Britain and Ireland, found no clear relationship between newspaper price and circulation. Picard (1990), in discussing the assumptions of those who support publishers' rights to keep newspaper distributors from raising prices, addressed the argument that price elasticity of demand exists for newspaper sales. He argued that it did not, saying,

> "[This argument is] contradicted by contemporary research in media economics showing that demand industrywide has been inelastic during the past three decades and is becoming more inelastic as local newspaper monopolies increase.... In fact, the relative inelasticity of demand has been a major impetus for one-third of the daily newspapers to increase their average single copy price by 40 percent, to 35 cents daily, in recent years."

Picard said, "if price elasticity of demand exists, it will most likely be present in those few markets in which two or more local daily newspapers compete."

Picard (1991) conducted a specific study of the relationship between price and circulation in which he analyzed the effects of three separate price increases on a mid-sized Midwestern daily. The dependent variable in his study was circulation level; the independent variables were single and subscription sales prices.

With the first price increase, Sunday circulation rates rose 39 percent and daily rates rose 27 percent. Per Picard, these rate increases were accompanied by circulation decreases of 2.52 percent (Sunday) and 1.53 percent (daily). Therefore, he calculated a Sunday subscription elasticity of -.0646 and a daily subscription elasticity of -.0567. With the second price increase, he calculated an average elasticity of -.1167; with the third price increase, he calculated a single copy elasticity of -.0293.

Picard concluded demand was inelastic, saying, "The significant, but reasonable, price increases did not result in a harmful decline in circulation of the paper within its primary market area." He said the results of his study indicated that any circulation price increase of 30 percent in a single-newspaper market would result in a 3 percent circulation decrease. He said, "... Price increases for circulation need not be feared by local monopoly publishers, if those raises are reasonable."

However, as in the 1970s, some newspaper executives have continued to attribute circulation losses to price increases despite the general belief among scholars that newspaper demand is price inelastic. When the *Chicago Tribune*, *The Houston Post* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Examiner* suffered circulation drops in the period ending September 30, 1993, they blamed these losses on price increases. When the *Detroit News* and *Detroit Free Press* saw circulation losses during the same period, they blamed them on an April 1 price increase in which they raised single copy prices from 25 cents to 35 cents (Fisher 1993).

Purpose of Study and Hypotheses

This study represents an effort to provide information about the effects of newspaper subscription price increases on circulation from 1971 to 1992 for a random sample of daily newspapers. It represents an attempt to:

- Measure correlations between daily newspaper price and circulation levels during this time period;
- Determine whether daily newspaper price increases contributed significantly to changes in circulation during this time period after population and key economic variables are held constant;
- Arrive at a price elasticity estimate for daily newspapers during this time period.

Statistical analyses were conducted on aggregate data and also on an individual newspaper basis. The hypotheses of this study were: 1) Correlations between price and circulation would be insignificant; 2) Measures of the contribution of price to circulation trends would be insignificant; and 3) Overall price elasticity would be low.

Methodology

The Sample

This study required a sample of daily newspapers published continuously from 1971 to 1992. The sample was selected from the FAS-FAX report of circulation averages for the six months ending March 31, 1971.

Newspapers in multiple newspaper markets were eliminated from the 1971 FAS-FAX list prior to sample selection. One-newspaper-market papers were considered preferable for purposes of this study because: 1) analysts have expressed a belief that the demand for newspapers operating in single-newspaper markets is particularly inelastic; and 2) many multiple-newspaper markets experienced the failure of one or more newspapers during the period covered in this study, and such marketplace changes would render measures of price/circulation relationships expressed in this study meaningless. The sample was chosen based on the 1971 FAS-FAX because markets that contained only one newspaper in 1971 were unlikely to become multiple-newspaper markets over the period studied.

A stratified sampling technique was employed so that appropriate numbers of newspapers were drawn from designated size categories. The population of one-newspaper-market papers was organized into the following NAA categories: 50,000 and under; 50,001 to 100,000; 100,001 to 250,000; and 250,001 and over. Then, appropriate numbers of newspapers in each size category were selected via systematic sampling with random starts.

A total of 60 newspapers was initially selected. As data was collected, however, it became necessary to eliminate a number of these papers from the sample for one or more of the following reasons: 1) A newspaper failed during the period of the study; 2) A Sunday paper was either added to or deleted from a newspaper's market during the period of the study; and 3) A newspaper's delivery schedule changed from morning to evening, or vice versa, or from once per day to all-day. The changes in market conditions represented by No. 2 and No. 3 would clearly have an effect on consumer buying decisions above and beyond price changes or changes in community population measures or economic climates. Therefore, their occurrence would invalidate measures of the price/circulation relationship determined in this study.

A final sample of 20 daily newspapers was established. To summarize, these 20 newspapers operated on a consistent delivery schedule from 1971 to 1992 in single-newspaper markets where no changes in Sunday newspaper publishing occurred. A list of newspapers included in the sample is provided in Table 1.

Data Collection

Data were collected representing the following variables for each year from 1971 to 1992 for each of the 20 newspapers included in the sample: 1) Total City Zone and Retail Trading Zone Circulation; 2) Total Number of Households in City Zone and Retail Trading Zone; 3) Newspaper Subscription Price; 4) Newspaper Market Effective Buying Income; and, 5) Newspaper Market Total Retail Sales.

It is clear why circulation and price data were collected; the other variables were selected to represent newspaper market population and economic conditions which, in addition to price, were deemed likely to influence circulation levels during the years studied. These variables were included in the study and held constant so that the price/circulation relationship could be defined in a meaningful fashion. Details of the data collection process for each variable are provided below. Variable definitions are provided where appropriate.

- Total City Zone and Retail Trading Zone Circulation.

  These data were collected from annual FAS-FAX reports. All reports provided circulation averages for the six months ending March 31, with the exception of the report used to collect 1977 data. That report provided circulation averages for the six months ending September 30; no earlier report was produced that year.
- Total Number of Households in City Zone and Retail Trading Zone.

  These data were collected from annual FAS-FAX reports as described above. Obviously, this variable represents a population measure.
- Newspaper Price.

  Daily newspaper subscription prices for each year from 1971 to 1992 were taken from the appropriate *Editor & Publisher International Yearbooks*. These prices were reported by newspaper publishers to *Editor and Publisher* as of September of the year prior to publication. Monthly subscription prices were recorded; where only single-copy or weekly prices were provided, equivalent monthly prices were calculated.
- Newspaper Market Effective Buying Income. (EBI).

  Annual Household Median Effective Buying Income figures for each newspaper market were recorded as reported in the *Survey of Buying Power*. FAS-FAX and *Survey of Buying Power* markets were matched up geographically as closely as possible based on Number of Household figures provided in each source. Effective Buying Income was chosen as a variable in this study because, according to *Sales and Marketing Management* (1992), it represents "a bulk measurement of market potential indicating the ability to buy." It is defined as "personal income less personal tax and non-tax payments -- a number often referred to as 'disposable' or 'after-tax' income."

- Newspaper Market Total Retail Sales.

  These data were also taken from the annual *Survey of Buying Power*. Retail sales measures were chosen as a variable because they represent yet another measure of newspaper market economic conditions. Total Retail Sales figures, as measured in the *Survey of Buying Power*, reflect "net sales (minus refunds and allowances for returns) for all establishments primarily engaged in retail trade."

Statistical Technique

All data were analyzed using SPSS. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed for circulation and price from 1971 to 1992 for each of the 20 newspapers separately and for the aggregate data. A correlation coefficient was also computed for Percentage Change in Circulation and Percentage Change in Price for the aggregate data.

Next, multiple regression analyses were run. Only 12 newspapers out of the sample of 20 newspapers were included in these analyses because changes in measurement methods between 1971 and 1992 rendered FAS-FAX Household data less than reliable for eight newspapers.

First, a linear model was built in which the dependent variable was circulation and the independent variables were households, price, EBI and retail sales. Regressions were run on data for each of the 12 individual papers and on the aggregate data. These analyses were conducted to determine the degree to which circulation could be meaningfully explained by price once population (households) and economic conditions (EBI and retail sales) were taken into account. Therefore, price was entered in Step 4 of all regressions -- after households, EBI and retail sales.

Second, a linear model was built in which the dependent variable was Percentage Change in Circulation and the independent variables were Percentage Change in Households, Percentage Change in Price, Percentage Change in EBI and Percentage Change in Retail Sales. A regression was run on the aggregate data in an attempt to determine the contribution of Percentage Change in Price to Percentage Change in Circulation after the effects of the other key variables were taken into account. Again, population and economic condition variables were entered first, and Percentage Change in Price was entered in Step 4. After a regression equation was generated, the population and economic condition variables were held constant and an overall price elasticity measure was generated.

Frequencies, histograms and descriptive statistics were generated for all variables in order to screen the data for abnormalities. Plots of circulation scores with independent variable scores indicated linear relationships. Mahalanobis' distance measures did not point to the existence of outliers. The significance of Pearson correlation coefficients was measured at .01 and .001 alpha levels; alpha was set at .05 for all regression analyses.

Findings

Pearson correlation coefficients

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed for circulation and price for the period 1971 to 1992 to examine the degree of the relationship between these two variables.

Calculation of the correlation coefficient for each of the 20 papers individually resulted in a wide range of *r* values. For four newspapers, the relationship between circulation and price was positive but not significant. For three newspapers, the relationship was positive and significant at the .01 alpha level, and for four newspapers the relationship was positive and significant at the .001 level. For one newspaper the relationship was negative and significant at the .01 level, and for eight newspapers the relationship was negative and significant at the .001 level.

The calculation of a Pearson correlation coefficient for circulation and price based on the aggregate data collected for all 20 newspapers from 1971 to 1992 resulted in an *r* of -.91, which was significant at the .001 level. When a correlation coefficient was computed for Percentage Change in Circulation and Percentage Change in Price based on the same aggregate data, *r* was -.58 -- significant at the .01 level.

Table 1 about here

Multiple Regressions

Because correlation coefficients failed to take into account the possibility that a third variable or some combination of other variables could be causing circulation and price to behave as they did, multiple regression analyses were run using all data collected for all variables.

When separate linear models were built for each of 12 papers for the period 1971 to 1992 in which the dependent variable was circulation and the independent variables were households, price, EBI and retail sales -- with price entered after the population and economic control variables -- resultant equations varied widely among individual newspapers. The percentage of the circulation variable explained by the four independent variables together ranged from 47.0 percent to 93.5 percent. For 11 of the 12 newspapers, R Square exceeded 50 percent once all four independent variables were entered into the regression equations.

In one-third of the 12 separate newspaper models analyzed, price made a significant contribution to circulation at the .05 level after the variables households, EBI and retail sales were statistically controlled for via the regression program. In eight of the separate newspaper models, price failed to contribute significantly to circulation above and beyond households, EBI and retail sales. It must be noted that in each of those four markets where the price variable made a significant contribution when entered in Step 4, an examination of the intercorrelation matrices indicated that circulation was negatively correlated with all other independent variables in the equation.

Table 2 about here

When a multiple regression was run on aggregate sample newspaper data for the years 1971 to 1992, price failed to explain a significant percentage of the circulation variable above and beyond that percentage explained by households, EBI and retail sales together. Here, too, an examination of the intercorrelation matrix for the aggregate data indicated circulation data was highly negatively correlated with all four of the independent variables.

Table 3 and Table 4 about here

When a linear model using aggregate sample data was built in which the dependent variable was Percentage Change in Circulation and the independent variables were Percentage Change in Households, Percentage Change in Price, Percentage Change in EBI and Percentage Change in Retail Sales -- with Percentage Change in Price entered in Step 4 -- Percentage Change in Price made a significant contribution to Percent Change in Circulation above and beyond the population and economic control variables entered prior to it. Aggregate Percentage Change in Circulation data was moderately negatively correlated with Percentage Change in Price, but was uncorrelated with Percentage Change in Households, moderately positively correlated with Percentage Change in EBI, and slightly negatively correlated with Percentage Change in Retail Sales. The four independent variables together explained 34.8 percent of Percentage Change in Circulation.

Table 5 and Table 6 about here

The regression equation based on percentage change data may be expressed as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} Y' = .2910 &+ .2071\text{ (percent households change)} + .0611\text{ (percent EBI change)} \\ &- .0142\text{ (percent retail sales change)} - .2173\text{ (percent price change)} \end{aligned}$$

Given this equation and assuming a 20 percent price increase and holding all population and economic control variables constant, a 4.06 percent decrease in circulation is derived. This yields an elasticity measure of -.2030.

Discussion

As mentioned earlier, the primary purpose of this paper was to examine the degree to which a relationship existed between newspaper prices and circulation levels for a random sample of daily, one-newspaper-market newspapers over a 22-year period once the effects of population growth and economic developments were held constant.

Interestingly, findings revealed unexpected relationships between circulation and population and economic variables, as well.

The Relationship between Price and Circulation

Although a few contradictions exist between the results of this study and former findings with regard to the price/circulation relationship, it can be stated that the results of this study generally parallel the results of price/circulation studies conducted to date.

Researchers in the 1970s found that newspaper price increases were accompanied by marked circulation decreases fairly infrequently. Correlation coefficients calculated in this analysis indicated that significant negative relationships existed between newspaper price and newspaper circulation over a 22-year period for fewer than half of the daily newspapers studied. When Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated for price and circulation based on aggregate data in this study, where price and circulation trends were expressed in absolute values and as percentage changes, r was significant at the .001 level and the 01 level respectively; however, these correlation coefficients fail to take other influential variables into account.

Regressions performed in the 1970s failed to indicate that newspaper price contributed significantly to circulation at the .05 level. When 12 sample newspapers were analyzed independently in this study, price only made a unique contribution to circulation 33 percent of the time once population and economic climate variables had been entered -- and only in those situations where the circulation variable was negatively correlated with all population and economic variables involved in the equation. Since one would expect the circulation variable to be positively correlated with the population and economic variables being entered as controls, the simultaneous presence of high negative correlations among all variables and a significant contribution of price to circulation leads one to wonder whether price would continue to make a significant contribution to circulation given the inclusion of "better" predictor variables in the model.

When a multiple regression was run on data summed across all 12 newspapers, the price variable failed to explain a significant percentage of the circulation variable after all three population and economic control variables had been entered into the equation. This was the case even though negative correlations existed between the aggregate circulation variable and all four independent variables. Thus, even though the control variables may have been less than ideal predictors of circulation, price still failed to have a significant impact on circulation trends.

When a linear model using aggregate data was built in which variables were expressed in terms of percentage change, the price variable made a unique contribution to the circulation variable when entered in Step 4. This finding is more interesting because the percentage change in circulation variable in this case was moderately negatively correlated with only the percentage change in price variable. However, although price contributed significantly to circulation in the aggregate linear model based on percentage changes, the real question is not whether the effect exists but how big the effect is. The regression based on percentage change values in this study produced a low elasticity measure of -.203 which is in keeping with those measures calculated by other researchers and the hypothesis posed at the start of this study that a low overall elasticity measure would be derived.

Given aggregate correlation coefficients produced and the regression run on aggregate variables as expressed in terms of percentage change, the hypotheses of this study that all correlations between price and circulation as well as all measures of contribution of price to circulation trends would be insignificant must be rejected. The extreme diversity of results produced when analysis was performed on a newspaper-by-newspaper basis, however, suggests that circulators may be well-advised to base pricing decisions on conditions within their own marketplaces rather than looking to any sweeping generalizations about the price and circulation relationship. This analysis does not provide grounds for refutation of a theory of price insensitivity in newspaper markets.

The Relationship between Circulation and Population and Economic Control Variables Used

When Grotta, in studying the price/circulation relationship in 1977, used area population as a second independent variable he found that aggregate circulation increased as area population increased. Therefore, in his work, population data served well as a control variable.

Today, due to circulation trends from 1971 to the present, this is not so clearly the case. It is interesting yet troubling that, for aggregate newspaper data collected in this study, circulation was so highly negatively correlated with the number of households and marketplace EBI and retail sales measures. These aggregate correlations suggest that other variables might better serve as controls in studies of the relationship between subscription price changes and circulation volume.

Perhaps if a variable reflecting education level were entered, better measures of the contribution of price to circulation could be established. Perhaps if a variable reflecting proximity to another newspaper market were entered, it could help to explain consumer reactions to price changes, as well. Such other potential control variables should be explored.

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Table 1
Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients for CIRC and PRICE for the Period 1971 to 1992

Market	*r*
--------	--
1. Gadsden, AL (*Times*)	.56*
2. San Mateo, CA (*Times & News Leader*)	.13
3. Aurora, IL (*Beacon-News*)	-.68**
4. Effingham, IL (*Daily News*)	.67**
5. Seymour, IN (*Tribune*)	.51*
6. Leavenworth, KS (*Times*)	-.81**
7. Augusta, ME (*Kennebec Journal*)	.89**
8. Gloucester, MA (*Daily Times*)	.56*
9. Waltham, MA (*News-Tribune*)	-.83**
10. Houghton, MI (*Daily Mining Gazette*)	.88**
11. Saginaw, MI (*News*)	-.92**
12. Laurel, MS (*Leader-Call*)	-.55*
13. Laconia, NH (*Citizen*)	.25
14. Vineland, NJ (*Times-Journal*)	.47
15. Elizabeth City, NC (*Advance*)	.78**
16. Canton, OH (*Repository*)	-.96**
17. Chillicothe, OH (*Gazette*)	-.82**
18. Ironton, OH (*Tribune*)	-.88**
19. Middletown, OH (*Journal*)	-.97**
20. Baker, OR (*Democrat Herald*)	.13
Aggregate Data	**-.91****
Aggregate Data expressed in terms of % Change	**-.58***

1-tailed Signif: * .01 ** .001

Table 2

Contribution of PRICE to CIRC: Multiple Regression Results for the Period 1971 to 1992 By Individual Newspaper Market

Dependent Variable: CIRC

1. Effingham, IL (*Daily News*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.671			
HOUSEHOLDS		.0275	.0996	>.05
EBI		.2041	1.0897	<.05
RETAIL		.0054	.6630	>.05
PRICE		-4222181	-8432	>.05

2. Leavenworth, KS (*Times*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.873			
HOUSEHOLDS		-.0517	-.3129	<.05
EBI		.0267	.6057	>.05
RETAIL		.0046	.8047	<.05
PRICE		-479.9759	-1.9212	<.05

3. Augusta, ME (*Kennebec Journal*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.913			
HOUSEHOLDS		.0576	.7364	<.05
EBI		.0431	.3513	>.05
RETAIL		-5.4024E-04	-.1893	>.05
PRICE		-18.0866	-0513	>.05

4. Gloucester, MA (*Daily Times*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.470			
HOUSEHOLDS		.1424	.4871	>.05
EBI		.0303	.7385	>.05
RETAIL		-8.9152E-06	-.0378	>.05
PRICE		-160.6768	-.5371	>.05

5. Waltham, MA (*News-Tribune*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.902			
HOUSEHOLDS		.0064	.0138	>.05
EBI		-.2856	-1.7122	<.05
RETAIL		.0148	1.1223	<.05
PRICE		-379.0220	-.3221	>.05

6. Houghton, MI (*Daily Mining Gazette*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.833			
HOUSEHOLDS		.0687	.2569	<.05
EBI		.0178	.2722	>.05
RETAIL		3.1739E-04	.0443	>.05
PRICE		60.6148	.4318	>.05

7. Laurel, MS (*Leader-Call*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.507			
HOUSEHOLDS		-.0983	-.5666	>.05
EBI		-.0783	-.6060	>.05
RETAIL		.0041	.7020	>.05
PRICE		-35.6098	-.1031	>.05

8. Laconia, NH (*Citizen*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.521			
HOUSEHOLDS		.1008	.5965	>.05
EBI		.1853	.9188	>.05
RETAIL		-.0047	-.6850	>.05
PRICE		-124.6419	-.1231	>.05

9. Canton, OH (*Repository*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.935			
HOUSEHOLDS		-.2021	-.4276	>.05
EBI		.1637	.1851	>.05
RETAIL		.0012	.1296	>.05
PRICE		-2281.7280	-.8604	<.05

10. Chillicothe, OH (*Gazette*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.848			
HOUSEHOLDS		.0662	.3836	>.05
EBI		-.0530	-.5376	>.05
RETAIL		.0067	.9234	<.05
PRICE		-431.1959	-1.4835	<.05

11. Ironton, OH (*Tribune*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.891			
HOUSEHOLDS		.0616	.2699	>.05
EBI		.0531	.4769	>.05
RETAIL		1.9803E-04	.0481	>.05
PRICE		-603.4419	-1.5057	<.05

12. Baker, OR (*Democrat-Herald*)

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.520			
HOUSEHOLDS		.1119	.7265	<.05
EBI		9.7063E-04	.0531	>.05
RETAIL		.0020	.3424	>.05
PRICE		-8.7367	-.1748	>.05

Table 3
Contribution of PRICE to CIRC: Multiple Regression Results for the Period 1971 to 1992 for Aggregate Market Data
Intercorrelation Matrix

	Correlation/ CIRC	Correlation/ PRICE	Correlation/ HHs	Correlation/ EBI	Correlation/ RETAIL
CIRC	1.0000	-.913	-.851	-.858	-.936
PRICE		1.000	.964	.985	.990
HOUSEHOLDS			1.000	.965	.953
EBI				1.000	.969
RETAIL					1.000

Table 4
Contribution of PRICE to CIRC: Multiple Regression Results for the Period 1971 to 1992 for Aggregate Market Data

Dependent Variable = CIRC

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.925			
HOUSEHOLDS		.0195	.1610	>.05
EBI		.0852	1.1034	<.05
RETAIL		-.0024	-1.2317	<.05
PRICE		-271.4865	-.9366	>.05

Table 5

Contribution of Percentage Change in PRICE to Percentage Change in CIRC:
Multiple Regression Results for the Period 1971 to 1992 For Aggregate Market Data
Intercorrelation Matrix

	Correlation/ CIRC%CH	Correlation/ PRICE%CH	Correlation/ HHs%CH	Correlation/ EBI%CH	Correlation/ RETAIL%CH
CIRC%CH	1.000	-.451	-.019	.314	-.164
PRICE%CH		1.000	.573	-.063	.164
HOUSEHOLDS%CH			1.000	.104	-.018
EBI%CH				1.000	-.051
RETAIL%CH					1.000

Table 6

Contribution of Percentage Change in PRICE to Percentage Change in CIRC:
Multiple Regression Results for the Period 1971 to 1992 For Aggregate Market Data
Dependent Variable = CIRC%CH

	R Square	Raw B	Std. Beta	Prob.
Independent Variables:	.348			
HOUSEHOLDS%CH		.2071	.2983	>.05
EBI%CH		.0611	.2421	>.05
RETAIL%CH		-.0142	-.0475	>.05
PRICE%CH		-.2173	-.5989	<.05

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EXPERTISE VS. TRUSTWORTHINESS IN A BIOTECH CONTROVERSY: ATTITUDE SIMILARITY AND EXTREMITY AND FARMERS' PERCEPTIONS OF BGH INFORMATION SOURCES

John Marquart
Wisconsin Farm Bureau Federation

Garrett J. O'Keefe*
Albert C. Gunther
Department of Agricultural Journalism
University of Wisconsin-Madison

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*Please address correspondence to the second author at 440 Henry Mall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI, 53705, (608) 262-4902.

Abstract

EXPERTISE VS. TRUSTWORTHINESS IN A BIOTECH CONTROVERSY: ATTITUDE SIMILARITY AND EXTREMITY AND FARMERS' PERCEPTIONS OF BGH INFORMATION SOURCES

The bovine growth hormone issue offers a good opportunity to study the credibility of information sources promoting a controversial technology to a public user group, in this case dairy farmers. It also provides a context in a naturalistic conflict situation for examining the expertise and trustworthiness components of credibility, and how those relate to attitude similarity and extremity. We investigated farmers' uses of information sources in evaluating BGH, the credibility attached to various sources, and factors affecting that credibility. A mail survey was administered to a statewide sample of Wisconsin dairy farmers during spring 1992, with an n of 280 (56% response rate). As hypothesized, farmers clearly distinguished between the expertise and trustworthiness attached to BGH information sources. Farmers also rated sources that they perceived as having attitudes similar to their own as more trustworthy, but not more expert. Farmers with more extreme attitudes toward BGH significantly downgraded the trustworthiness of several institutional sources, and, surprisingly, the expertise of a broader range of sources, including mass media.

EXPERTISE VS. TRUSTWORTHINESS IN A BIOTECH CONTROVERSY: ATTITUDE SIMILARITY AND EXTREMITY AND FARMERS' PERCEPTIONS OF BGH INFORMATION SOURCES

Agricultural research presents new technologies to farmers at an ever-increasing rate. Adoption of these technologies has enabled farmers to become more productive while relying less on human labor. Producers who have failed to adopt new technologies often have been forced out of farming because they could no longer remain competitive.

As farm populations dwindle to less than 2% of the American population, many farmers and policy makers have begun to debate whether information sources promoting certain agricultural technologies are actually threatening producers' existences. In particular, adopting new biotechnology farming practices has shown a potential to rapidly increase the decline of the farm population, since they tend to favor economies of scale and work against the traditional family farm.

Much such debate has centered upon the first biotechnology ready for commercial agriculture: bovine growth hormone, or BGH. Also called bovine somatotropin (BST), BGH is a natural protein hormone produced in the pituitary gland of dairy cattle. It helps coordinate how energy from feed is allocated to meet a cow's physical needs, such as growth in young animals and milk production in cows. A dairy cow having more BGH has a greater potential for increased milk production (AHI, 1988).

Dairy researchers have known about BGH for several decades. Scientists first reported in 1928 that a crude extract from the pituitary glands of cattle stimulated milk production, and produced a purified form of BST in 1947. In 1973, BGH was demonstrated to increase milk production. However, the technology was not commercially economical until the late 1970s and early 1980s when scientist developed a method to produce mass quantities of the hormone using recombinant gene technology (Blayney and Fallert, 1988).

Confident of FDA approval by the early 1990s, pharmaceutical companies undertook expensive publicity campaigns to convince farmers and consumers of the safety and benefits of the manufactured BGH. However, they encountered strong resistance from farm organizations and politicians who claimed that BGH would increase the national milk surplus, lowering milk prices and causing more dairy farmers to go out of business.

BGH opponents also questioned the potential health effects of the hormone on cows and humans. Adding to the controversy were accusations that universities, influenced by research grants received from pharmaceutical companies, covered up data showing that BGH caused health problems in cows. After several years' delay while more tests were completed on the potential health effects of the hormone, the FDA approved BGH for commercial use in November 1993.

The BGH issue provides a good opportunity to study the credibility of information sources promoting a controversial technology to a public user group, in this case farmers. This research was carried out in Wisconsin, where few farmers -- or agricultural policy makers -- remained neutral on the issue. When news about BGH first appeared, extreme groups quickly formed on both sides of the issue. Both sides, through use of the state's traditional agricultural communication channels, were equally adamant in claiming to tell the truth about the effect of the hormone on the state's dairy industry. The issue also suggested a distrust by state dairy farmers of many institutional information sources they previously were thought to consider credible. This study investigates dairy farmers' uses of information sources during this period of conflict, the credibility attached to various sources, and factors affecting that credibility.

Source Credibility

Credibility, ethos, prestige, charisma and image are just some of the terms that have been used to evaluate communication sources as to their inherent potential for effectiveness. Credibility may be defined as believability or a person's ability or willingness to trust what the other person says (Singletary, 1976.) Research has rather consistently shown that the more overall credibility a communicator is perceived as having, the more likely the receiver is to believe the transmitted information, with persuasion more likely to result (for reviews, see McGuire, 1985; O'Keefe, 1990; Eagly and Chaiken, 1993). There are, however, several nuances in the way in which credibility is characterized, as well as in variables it may interact with, that temper this somewhat general hypothesis.

Hovland and Weiss (1951) were among the first to split the conceptual definition of source credibility into two major components -- expertise and trustworthiness. Expertise refers to how knowledgeable or competent the audience perceives the speaker to be on the topic. Trustworthiness means the degree to which the audience believes the communicator is honest or sincere in the statements made.

Subsequent research on sources has not made much of this distinction operationally, however, focusing largely on a "generic" credibility factor and its influence on persuasion. Some work has suggested that expertise per se is a less effective persuasive technique (e.g., Hovland and Weiss, 1951; McGinnies and Ward, 1980) than is trustworthiness overall (McGinnies and Ward, 1980). Attempted manipulations of both simultaneously have been more ambiguous, however (Mowen, Wiener and Joag, 1987; Wiener and Mowen, 1986). Recent evidence suggests that the public does actively make the distinction in evaluating sources, at least in cases involving such technological risks as toxic pollution (McCallum, Hammond and Covello, 1990; Peters, 1992) and food irradiation (Bord and O'Connor, 1990), with trustworthiness appearing the more valued trait.

Attitude Similarity, Involvement and Source Credibility

Two factors that have been linked to source credibility and its persuasive impact that seem particularly relevant to farmers and the BGH issue are (a) message receivers' perceptions of the similarity of attitudes between the source and themselves; and (b) receivers' degree of involvement in the issue.

How attitudinally similar or dissimilar to oneself the receiver perceives the communicator as being can influence persuasive impact, although a host of contingent factors enter in (for reviews, see O'Keefe, 1990; Eagly and Chaiken, 1993). Less studied has been how attitudinal similarity relates to credibility. Peters (1992) found that West Germans with negative attitudes about nuclear energy placed more trust in anti-nuclear sources following Chernobyl. Delia (1975) and O'Keefe (1990) suggest the relationships are complex and are apt to differ across the trustworthiness and expertise dimensions. The relevance of the attitudinal similarity to the topic being communicated is likely to be a factor, as are such situational variables as message content and perceived communicator intent. Conventional wisdom would suggest that greater perceived attitudinal similarity regarding the topic being communicated would be positively related to perceptions of greater source expertise and trustworthiness.

Not only attitude similarity but degree of involvement on an issue may affect the role of credibility in persuasion (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986; Peters, 1992), and -- more to the point here -- credibility ratings per se. Social judgement theory predicts that people are ordinarily open to a wide latitude of information on an issue, but that highly involved people have a narrower latitude of acceptance (Sherif, Sherif and Nebergall, 1965). Several studies support the notion that highly involved people -- people who hold more extreme or intense attitudes, regardless of direction -- demonstrate a form of "biased processing" through which they take a more skeptical approach to information, and the sources of that information (Gunther, 1988; Petty and Cacioppo, 1986). In a study combining social judgment theory with the biased processing idea, Gunther (1992) found audience involvement in an issue to be a stronger predictor of distrust in newspaper and television news than traditional variables like audience demographics, a skeptical psychological disposition, or attributes of the source.

The case of Wisconsin dairy farmers' confrontation with BGH provides an opportunity to analyze in a field setting a concerned public dealing with an innovative technology, with sentiments formed and reinforced by information from a variety of origins. We focus on the mark of this interplay on the credibility attached to those sources, and how similarity of attitudes and depth of involvement regarding the issue relate to that credibility.

The ubiquity of the BGH issue in Wisconsin agricultural circles led farmers to encounter it from a wide spectrum of sources, including personal and professional acquaintances; industry, government and universities; an array of media specializing in farm issues; and general mass media. Though we did not attempt to take account of differences among these in specifying hypotheses, we expected that variation in perceived motives and backgrounds of information sources would have some effect on trustworthiness and expertise ratings.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were posed:

1. **Farmers' perceptions of the credibility of different sources will vary in terms of expertise and trustworthiness.**

Farmers are likely to distinguish between expertise and trustworthiness as attached to various information sources, particularly on issues such as BGH. Trustworthiness and expertise in an information source each appears highly relevant to farmers, especially concerning the BGH issue. Some information sources, such as dairy scientists and manufacturing representatives, may have high expertise, but farmers may consider them untrustworthy because they are viewed as not being concerned about the farmers' best interests. Such motive attributions appear to be a key component in judgments of credibility (Eagly, Wood and Chaiken, 1978). In comparison, a respected neighbor or county agent may be viewed as sincere and trustworthy, but as not having adequate expertise on a complex scientific issue such as BST.

2. **The more farmers perceive BGH information sources as agreeing with their own attitudes toward BGH, the more they will perceive those sources as credible in terms of expertise and trustworthiness.** Perceived similarities between the information source and dairy farmers will influence source credibility

regarding BGH. If farmers believe information sources share their own attitudes about BGH, they will be perceived as being higher in trustworthiness and expertise.

3. Farmers with more extreme attitudes about BGH (positive or negative) are more likely to attribute lower trustworthiness and expertise to the information sources. Farmers who are highly involved with the BGH issue are expected to have more polarized and intensely held attitudes about BGH, given its potential economic and agronomic impacts on their livelihoods. These farmers, likely to engage in more biased information processing, will be more skeptical of sources of information about BGH. Conversely, farmers with only moderate or low involvement in the BGH issue will have less firmly held attitudes about BGH. They will think about information on BGH in a less biased way, making them more willing to accept messages, even those that might disagree with their own attitudes toward BGH. While Gunther found a curvilinear effect with the most neutral individuals also perceiving more source bias, we do not believe that will be applicable here under the assumption that at best very few Wisconsin farmers will be truly neutral or uninvolved in this issue.

METHODS

The methodology involved a mail questionnaire survey of 500 Wisconsin dairy farmers during the summer of 1992. A systematic probability sample was drawn from a state regulatory agency list of active dairy producers in Wisconsin in 1992. An initial sample size of 500 was formulated to attempt to insure a large enough response rate for adequate representativeness, generalizability, and statistical power for analysis of the data. The sampling process involved choosing active Grade A and B dairy producers from the appropriate department files and sorting them according to county, township and section order.

At the time of the sampling, there were 31,210 active dairy producers in the state. The Grade A producer population stood at 23,914 farms (76.6%) and the grade B size consisted of 7,296 farms (23.4%). An Agricultural Statistics Service statistician calculated the beginning record number and the interval used to select records so that the grade A and B producers would be represented in the sample in proportion to their percentage of total active producers.

Interview questionnaires were mailed to the selected producers during May 1992. The questionnaires were formatted to be as user-friendly as possible within cost constraints, taking advantage of desktop publishing software and quality graphics to make the pamphlet attractive and relatively straightforward to fill out. They were pretested in person on small groups of farmers, and likely took about ten minutes on average to complete. Respondents who had not returned their questionnaires after three weeks were sent a follow-up postcard. Overall response rate totaled 56%.

Measurement

Respondents were given a list of 18 sources assumed to cover the major avenues from which they likely would have received information about BGH (see Table 1). For the credibility measures, they were first asked to "rate each source on how trustworthy you find it in terms of telling you the truth about BGH as they see it." They were then asked to rate each source "on how much expertise they have about BGH in terms of knowing what they're talking about." The five-point rating scales ranged from "very low" to "very high" for each attribute.

Farmers' own attitudes towards BGH were measured by asking them whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement, "I am for legalizing BGH for commercial use." A five-point scale was used with (1)= strongly disagree and (5)= strongly agree. Respondents were then asked the position they believed each information source would take with respect to legalizing BGH, with the same scaling used. Each farmer's own attitude score was then subtracted from each of the scores given to sources. This created an absolute difference score for each of the information sources relative to the farmer's position, with a higher mean score indicating the respondent believed the information source disagreed more about legalizing BGH.

Finally, involvement -- conceptualized here as extremity of attitude -- was measured based upon a more extensive eight-item attitude index, with each item rated on a five-point Likert agree-disagree scale. The items included:

BGH will make more dairy farmers go out of business (-)
BGH will help me survive as a dairy farmer (+)
BGH will benefit all farmers (+)
BGH may cause health problems in people (-)
The FDA should approve BGH for commercial use (+)
If legalized, BGH will harm my future as a dairy farmer
If legalized, BGH will help the dairy industry (+)
I am for legalizing BGH for commercial use (+)

Cronbach's alpha for the item group was .85, and the scores were added to form an overall index that was condensed into five groups, ranging from the most negative to the most positive. We then created extreme, moderate and neutral attitude intensity groups by recoding to combine respondents who held extreme attitudes towards BGH, negative or positive, into one set, more moderate respondents into another, and neutrals into a third, as depicted in Table 3. It should be noted that nearly all of the extreme intensity group held negative attitudes toward BGH.

FINDINGS

As proposed in the first hypothesis, dairy farmers generally differentiated between the trustworthiness and expertise of information sources (Table 1). Other dairy farmers were considered significantly more trustworthy than expert. Interestingly from the point of view of media credibility in general, also scoring higher on trust than expertise were major farm and general news media, including weekly farm newspapers, farm magazines, farm organization publications, farm TV and radio programs, farm radio programs, and general TV newscasts and daily newspapers.

Evaluated as having greater expertise but being less trustworthy were institutional and commercial sources, including BGH manufacturers, university dairy scientists, feed company nutritionists, government officials overall and the Food and Drug Administration specifically.

The farmers overwhelmingly opposed BGH legalization, with 63% strongly disagreeing with the statement and another 19% disagree; only 9% agreed, with 9% neutral. (Farmers were also asked whether they would use BGH on their dairy herds if it became commercially available: 65.4% said they would be very unlikely, 13.3% somewhat unlikely, 13.3% undecided, 4.6% somewhat unlikely and 3.4% very likely. The main concerns respondents reported about BGH were that it would reduce consumer consumption of dairy products; cause health problems in cattle; increase surplus, lower milk price; cause health problems in humans; and force small farmers out of business.)

When they were asked to what extent each of the information sources would agree or disagree with BGH legalization, they viewed BGH manufacturers and university and government sources as agreeing most. Specifically, difference scores computed between each farmer's own opinion on legalization and the perceived opinion of each source indicated the greatest contrasts as being with BGH manufacturers, government officials, university agricultural publications, university dairy scientists and FDA information (Table 2). Farmers agreed most with other dairymen, farm organization publications, veterinarians and dairy magazine articles and editorials.

The difference scores were then correlated with the scores with farmers' trustworthiness and expertise ratings for each of the same information sources (Table 2). Significant correlations were found for the trustworthiness ratings of several information sources, including BGH manufacturers, feed company nutritionists, government officials, university dairy scientists, independent feed nutritionists, university agricultural publications and FDA information. However, for expertise there was only one significant correlation -- for government officials. Thus the second hypothesis is only partly -- and conditionally -- supported: The less farmers perceived BGH information sources as agreeing with their own attitudes toward BGH, the less trustworthy they saw them as -- but only in cases of rather pronounced discrepancy. Attitude similarity was virtually unrelated to expertise.

Were farmers with more extreme attitudes about BGH (positive or negative) more likely to attribute lower trustworthiness and expertise to the information sources? A one-way analysis of variance indicated significant differences between the mean scores of the attitude groups for the trustworthiness and expertise of several information sources. More extreme attitudes were related to lower trustworthiness for university dairy scientists, university ag publications, BGH manufacturers, government officials and FDA information.

This effect appeared stronger for rating the expertise of information sources. More extreme attitudes were significantly associated with lower expertise scores for university dairy scientists, BGH manufacturers, government officials, university ag publications, FDA information, farm magazine articles, independent feed nutritionists, feed company nutritionists, farm magazine articles and farm television programs. The hypothesis was therefore partially supported for both expertise and trust, again for the more discrepant source cases.

DISCUSSION

The results indicate that dairy farmers perceived a clear difference between the trustworthiness and expertise of sources from which they received information about BGH. Most information sources were rated significantly higher in either trustworthiness or expertise. Similarity between respondents' own attitudes about BGH and their perceptions of the attitudes of information sources about BGH were related in part to source trustworthiness, but apparently not to source expertise. The more farmers thought commercial, institutional and government information sources disagreed with them, the less trustworthy they found them. However, this relationship did not appear in the case of media sources.

The replication of Gunther's earlier research on credibility (1988, 1992) indicates a linear relationship between attitude extremity and the credibility of some information sources. Trust in sources significantly decreased as farmers' attitudes moved from neutral to more extreme positions. The relationship was apparent for the perceived trustworthiness of several institutional sources, but it was far more widespread in farmers' judgements of source expertise. Also notable is the fact that it is evident primarily for institutional sources, but not for mass media sources.

Do efforts to distinguish the two dimensions of credibility -- expertise and trustworthiness -- matter? The answer is yes. But their variations here appear to depend on two factors: the type of information source and the causal variable in question. Attitude similarity generally affects trustworthiness, but not expertise, and for institutional sources, not media sources. Attitude extremity also affects the trustworthiness of some institutional sources, but, surprisingly, it has a far broader effect on expertise, even extending to some of the media sources. Farmers who feel strongly about the BGH issue seem to impugn the knowledge even more than the motives of these information sources.

It is further notable that both hypotheses 2 and 3 hold up most consistently for the institutional sources. Neither perceived attitude similarities nor farmers' issue involvement appears to have a significant effect on their ratings of the credibility of the media sources. The one exception is in the case of university agricultural publications, which farmers in this study appear to perceive as having more in common with commercial and government institutions than with other mass media channels.

It may be that farmers regard BGH -- and other specialized topics -- as being less closely tied to the overall mission of mass media. Recall the greater trustworthiness versus expertise attributed to mass media on the BGH issue. Mass media -- including farm media -- may be legitimately viewed as providing too wide an array of content to be overly concerned with their depiction of a single issue such as BGH -- mass media credibility overall may hinge more on trust in "telling the truth as they see it" over a range of topics than on "knowing what they're talking about" on one particular technical and controversial issue. While the more institutional sources provide information on a range of issues also, the scope is somewhat narrower and perception of their having something specific to gain from BGH may act as more of a lightning rod, increasing the impact of the highly charged emotions tied to that issue.

The findings suggest implications that may affect the communication of information about other agricultural biotechnologies. Perhaps BGH is such a controversial topic because it is the first biotechnology ready for commercial use. But the results suggest that university information sources have been perceived by dairy farmers as too closely identified with commercial and government institutions on BGH, which may not represent the best interests of farmers.

The low trustworthiness ratings of university scientists and university agricultural publications may signal a change in thinking about adopting new technologies. Although other past dairy technology innovations such as artificial insemination initially met resistance, they were eventually adopted by the majority of dairy farmers, even though they accelerated the trend toward fewer farmers. Faced with today's agricultural economy, farmers are taking a closer look at the consequences of adopting new biotechnologies that seem to offer increased production with no guarantee of increased profit. Farmers also seem to be more conscious of consumer concerns about food additives and how consumption of dairy products could be affected.

This may indicate that farmers want to know about the social and economic impacts of biotechnologies before they are willing to adopt them. In the future, university personnel may be required to not only communicate information about how the new technologies affect production, but also their social, economic and environmental effects.

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Table 1. Differences Between Perceived Trustworthiness and Expertise of Information Sources

Information Source	Trust Means	Expertise Means	t
Other dairymen	3.60	2.96	9.61[c]
Veterinarians	3.88	3.80	1.78
Independent feed nutritionists	3.07	3.12	-.96
Feed company nutritionists	2.89	3.05	-2.95[b]
BGH manufacturers	1.75	2.94	-12.67[c]
Animal Health Institute	3.15	3.24	-1.60
FDA information	2.71	2.95	-3.50[c]
Government officials	1.89	2.05	-2.52[a]
University dairy scientists	3.16	3.58	-6.76[c]
University ag publications	3.23	3.34	-1.73
Weekly farm newspapers	3.43	3.19	5.38[c]
Farm magazines	3.38	3.17	4.33[c]
Farm organization publications	3.17	3.05	2.46[a]
Dairy magazines	3.33	3.23	1.89
Farm TV programs	3.11	2.96	3.10[b]
Farm radio programs	3.18	3.03	3.17[b]
TV newscasts	2.83	2.53	6.02[c]
Daily newspapers	2.83	2.57	4.80[c]

Range Degrees of Freedom (231-239)

[a] $p<.05$

[b] $p<.01$

[c] $p<.001$

Table 2. Differences Between Farmers Own and Perceived Information Source Attitudes on BGH, with Correlation Scores for Trustworthiness and Expertise

	Mean Score	Trust	Expertise
Other dairymen	.74 (.92)	.00	.02
Veterinarians	1.28 (1.1)	-.16[a]	-.10
Independent feed nutritionists	1.43 (1.10)	-.18[b]	-.10
Feed company nutritionists	1.55 (1.15)	-.23[c]	-.13
BGH Manufacturers	2.77 (1.40)	-.25[c]	-.09
Animal Health Institute	1.51 (1.03)	-.07	-.02
FDA information	1.68 (1.15)	-.17[a]	-.11
Government officials	1.96 (1.22)	-.21[c]	-.15[a]
University dairy scientists	1.85 (1.15)	-.23[b]	.04
University ag publications	1.88 (1.17)	-.17[a]	-.09
Weekly farm newspapers	1.42 (.97)	-.05	-.13
Farm magazines	1.48 (.98)	-.07	-.11
Farm organization publications	1.27 (.97)	-.04	-.03
Dairy magazines	1.39 (.92)	-.02	-.06
Farm TV programs	1.46 (.98)	-.05	-.01
Farm radio programs	1.45 (1.01)	-.04	-.05
TV newscasts	1.50 (.91)	.04	.02
Daily newspapers	1.41 (.90)	.04	-.08

(Standard Deviation)
Pearson r correlations
[a] = Significant at .05
[b] = Significant at .01
[c] =Significant at .001

Table 3. Trustworthiness and Expertise Across Attitude Extremity Groups

	Trustworthiness			Expertise		
	Extr	Mod	Neut	Extr	Mod	Neut
Other dairymen	3.69	3.65	3.44	3.21	2.88	2.76
Veterinarians	3.80	3.93	3.97	3.76	3.77	3.95
Independent feed nutritionists	2.96	3.08	3.31	2.96	3.19	3.34[a]
Feed company nutritionists	2.74	3.02	3.01	2.88	3.11	3.27[a]
BGH manufacturers	1.41	1.80	2.06[c]	2.35	3.13	3.50[c]
Animal Health Institute	3.14	3.16	3.21	3.10	3.27	3.46
FDA information	2.27	2.86	3.14[c]	2.53	3.11	3.36[c]
Government officials	1.59	2.11	2.03[c]	1.79	2.01	2.33[c]
University dairy scientists	2.74	3.24	3.65[c]	3.29	3.57	4.00[c]
University ag publications	2.83	3.34	3.66[c]	2.91	3.46	3.77[c]
Weekly farm newspapers	3.42	3.44	3.49	3.14	3.07	3.42
Farm magazines	3.30	3.37	3.58	3.07	3.08	3.45[b]
Farm organization publications	3.33	3.14	3.13	3.12	2.96	3.10
Dairy magazines	3.36	3.28	3.38	3.20	3.14	3.45
Farm TV radio programs	2.98	3.13	3.31	2.79	2.93	3.22[a]
Farm radio programs	3.08	3.19	3.40	2.91	3.01	3.25
TV newscasts	2.88	2.84	2.74	2.53	2.55	2.54
Daily newspapers	2.99	2.81	2.67	2.76	2.44	2.48
	(94)	(87)	(70)	(94)	(87)	(70)

Five-point scale, 1=very untrustworthy, 5=very trustworthy.

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A Study
Of America's Front Pages:
A 10-Year Update

By
Steve Pasternack
New Mexico State University
and
Sandra H. Utt
The University of Memphis

Accepted by the Visual Communication division of AEJMC for presentation at the AEJMC Atlanta Convention in August 1994.

Black and white front page photos. Column rules. Eight-column pages. Vertical design.

For many people under age 30, those "ancient" newspaper design elements probably generate as much recall as linotype, copy spikes or an Underwood typewriter.

Indeed, there was a time not very long ago when "newspaper design" was nothing more than a means of placing items on a page and making it all fit.[1] More often than not, it was a job for a news person with little if any design training; these editors generally created organized and readable pages.

Functional? Yes. Attractive? Generally not.

Attitudes, staffing, technology and the pages themselves have all changed dramatically in the last 15 years. Layout specialists,[2] many with degrees in art, today use the latest computers to design pages for newspapers strongly committed to a publication that must look as good as it reads. For example, the *Providence Journal-Bulletin* conducted a subscription drive in 1993 that included making potential readers aware of its increased use of color and a news index on the left side of its front page, creating a "reader-friendly" format.[3]

A decade ago, newspaper readers marveled at color. Today they expect it. A decade ago, *USA Today* and its followers were the exception, looked upon as design revolutionaries. Today, a vertical, black and white front page is as rare as 8-point body type.

The most ostensible changes have been on the front page, "the prime real estate in journalism."[4] Front pages of newspapers (and today, of inside sections) have become the breeding ground for a variety of design innovations. For example, page one is where readers find large doses of color,[5] informational graphics, experimentation with modernized flags, large photos and news digests. Even some of the industry's most stubborn holdouts, such as the *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* have added splashes of color,[6] and news of redesigned, modernized publications continues to appear in the trade press.[7] One recent advertisement for a designers stated: "*The Star-Telegram* is looking for designers to challenge the stuffy traditions of page one and present a contemporary and sophisticated look."[8]

However, newspapers are adopting the latest technologies at varying rates. One recent study found that only one in ten newspapers studied is fully paginated, while about 35% do not have any pagination capabilities.[9]

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Research into newspaper design has focused both on what newspapers are doing and how readers are reacting–measuring attitudes, reading speed and understanding. One author wrote that print media must be innovative in design to maintain a competitive edge, and that means they must be "audience driven" in an era of changing demographics, readership and technology.[10]

To underscore that view, more than nine in ten editors surveyed in a 1989 study said that a newspaper's layout and design can be a critical factor for readers having a choice of newspapers to read.[11] Numerous studies have found that readers generally approve of modern newspaper design innovations,[12] that they make the paper easier[13] and faster[14] to read.

One study found readers associated many modern design elements with positive perceptions such as "pleasant" and "readable."[15] Editors also have expressed satisfaction, both with their newspaper's dedication to design quality and with the final product itself.[16]

These levels of approval have played a role in getting newspapers to continue modernization of their design and the "laggards" to jump onto the bandwagon of modern layout. Some newspapers have added modern design devices piece by piece.[17] Others have undergone one major overhaul. The result has generally been front pages that are less dense and more orderly. Between 1975 and 1985, the average number of front-page items (stories, photos, etc.) fell from an average of 11.2 to 9.4, the number of page one photos increased and pages became more horizontal in design.[18]

Two studies of newspaper front-page characteristics in the 1980s (in 1983 and 1988)[19] found that some modern design characteristics continued to be adopted by more and more newspapers, that some levelled off and that in some cases, newspapers returned to traditional design approaches. For example, the percentage of dailies using the modern modular format increased during that five-year period from 65.7% to 78%. Also, newspapers turned to larger body type by the end of the decade.

The most dramatic change was in color use. In 1983, one-third of the dailies said they regularly used front page color. By 1988, that increased to 56.5%. Meanwhile, between 1983 and 1988, use of the 6-column basic page stabilized (85% of newspapers used a 6-column page in 1983 compared to 82% in 1988), as did the use of teasers above the flag. One example of de-modernization is the location of the flag. In 1983, 14.7% of the dailies surveyed said their front-page flag was always at the top of the page. In 1988, 32% said they always placed their flag at the top of page one.

By the late 1980s, three-fourths of daily newspapers were using a graphics wire and four in five had a Macintosh system. Throughout that decade, more and more newspapers were abandoning letterpress printing and turning to offset. By 1988, 57% were using offset printing.[20]

PURPOSE

The purpose of this paper is to examine front page daily newspaper design. A second purpose is to explore some of attitudes of editors toward the importance of appearance and how important they think design is to newspaper readers. This is a replication of two studies conducted five and ten years ago.

METHOD

Daily newspapers with circulations of 25,000 and above were selected from the *1993 Editor & Publisher Yearbook* using a systematic probability sampling method. Booklet-sized questionnaires, accompanied by a cover letter and a business reply envelope, were mailed to 168 daily newspapers on October 10, 1993. A follow-up letter was mailed on November 11, 1993. The questionnaire was addressed to the newspaper's staff member who is primarily responsible for front page layout and design.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1) What are the graphic and design characteristics of daily newspapers' front pages in 1993 with respect to overall design, typeface selection, color, photography, informational graphics, flag, indexes, digests, printing method? How do circulation, the increase in the use of new technology and overall design relate to these various graphic characteristics?

2) What are editors' attitudes toward graphics and design with respect to the attractiveness of American dailies and how important and noticeable do they believe graphics and design are to their readers?

FINDINGS

Characteristics: Responses were received from 97 newspapers, representing a 57.7% response rate. The responding dailies were categorized as follows: 25,000 to 50,000 circulation (41.2 %); 50,001 to 100,000 (26.8%); 100,001 to 250,000 (20.6%) and 250,001 and above (11.3%).[21] About two of every three papers (72.2%) are members of a group.

Offset is the printing method at 80.2% of the papers; 13.5% are printed by letterpress; 4.2% are printed by flexography; and 2.1% of the papers use a combination of those printing methods plus gravure. Additionally, 68% of the papers have been redesigned within the last five years, and 92.8% of the newspapers have their front pages designed by a person with a journalism background, as opposed to art.

New Technology: Today's newspapers are using Associated Press Graphics (98.9%), a Macintosh system (100%), electronic picture editing–Leafdesk (95.9%), color scanning (88.7%), satellite transmission systems (86.6%), computerized page makeup system (67%)

and Knight-Ridder Tribune News Graphics (53.9%). Before 1990, AP Graphics was used by 61% and a Macintosh system by 58% of the papers surveyed. Large circulation papers (63.6%) are more likely to receive Knight-Ridder Tribune News Graphics than small circulation papers (38.9%).[22] Graphics wires services that have yet to reach the majority of the papers include the Gannett News Service (11.9%) and the New York Times Graphics (15.7%). [See Table 1]

Color: Of the newspapers, 78.4% have increased the use of 4-color photos in the last five years. Almost half (47.4%) run all of their page one photos in 4-color, while 40.2% use a 4-color photo at least 75% of the time. More than one third (38.5%) average three or more 4-color photos, while 42.7% of the papers average two 4-color photos on a daily basis on page one. At both smaller and larger circulation dailies, more than 94% of the newspapers use 4-color photos.

At 63.2% of the papers, all page one infographics run in 4-color, while 22.1% of the papers use a 4-color infographic at least 75% of the time.

More than half (58.8%) of the papers report an increase in the use of spot color in the past five years. Spot color is used every day on page one at 69.1% of the papers, while 24.5% report never using spot color. Small circulation papers are much more likely to run spot color every day (84.6%) than large circulation papers (3.3%). Of those papers that use spot color, teasers are regularly run in spot color at 64.5% of them. That compares to: the flag (46.3%); borders/tooling lines (32.3%); and screens behind type (28%). Only 7.8% of the papers regularly run headlines in spot color.

Design Elements: Most dailies (82.2%) use a modular format; 8.9% use a vertical format, and 8.9% use a horizontal format. More than two-thirds (69.5%) have not changed their number of columns in the past five years; however, 81.8% vary their columns widths regularly, and 53.7% do so every day, resulting in fewer, but wider columns. The front page is designed using a basic 6-column format at 79.2% of the dailies, while 16.7% use a 5-column format. Two thirds (68.8%) of the papers use a 12.1- to 13-pica width line as standard. Of the modular papers, 54.8% vary the width of their columns every day compared to 37% of the non-modular papers.

Almost one-half (43.8%) of the newspapers surveyed have decreased the number of stories on page one in the past five years. While few dailies (1.1%) begin 10 or more stories on page one, more than three quarters of the papers (79.7%) begin five or six stories, with 13.9% beginning four or fewer on the front page. However, most of these stories conclude on the inside, as 70.2% of the papers jump at least half of their page one stories. At opposite ends of the spectrum, 3.2% of the papers never jump stories, while 10.6% of the papers jump every story.

Placement of the lead story was split between 39.3% of the editors indicating that the lead story would regularly run in the upper right and 39.3% indicating that no regular pattern exists, with lead story placement varying day-to-day. A third group (19%) indicated that the lead story would most likely span the top of the page. Modular papers (56%) are less likely than non-modular papers (78%) to use a regular pattern for placement of the lead story on page one.

A majority (52.1%) of the newspapers average two photos on their front page, and all use a dominant photograph. Almost half (47.3%) place their dominant photo in the middle of the page, while 45.1% do not have a set pattern for that photo's placement. Of the modular papers, 52% have a regular pattern for placement of their dominant photograph; by contrast 64% of the non-modular papers use a regular pattern for placement of their dominant photograph.

Editors were asked how they played their page one dominant photograph–either as part of a package that includes a front page story; as a reference to an inside story; or as stand-alone item that is not related to either a front page or an inside story. At 83.5% of the papers, the use of the dominant photograph was almost evenly divided between running it as part of a package with a headline and story or running it as a stand-alone item. Running the dominant photograph as a reference to an inside story occurred less than 25% of the time at most papers.

A majority of the papers (52.1%) run an average of one mug shot daily on their front page. Additionally, 10.6% never use any mug shots, while 8.5% run an average of more than three per day.

Two thirds (66.3%) of the newspapers average one infographic per day on their front page; 78.4% of the papers have increased their number of infographics in the past five years.

Flags at daily papers in 1993 generally span the entire page (88.4%) and move down into the page on a regular basis (63.4%). Among papers that move the flag down into the page, 76.5% regularly run teasers above the flag, while 20.4% regularly run an index or digest above the flag. Other items that run at least occasionally above the flag include: photos (at 26% of the papers that move the flag from the top); stories (at 6.1% of the papers); headlines (at 10.2% of the papers); and infographics (at 4.2% of the papers).

More than one half (52.1%) of the flags are traditional with a text typeface, and 29.2% use a modern typeface for the flag. Additionally, 73.7% of the papers do not incorporate an emblem in their flag. Newspapers' emblems can vary a great deal to include eagles, bees, bears, roosters, the outline of the state, the state capitol's dome, the geography of the region, the sun, a city symbol, the American flag, a Minuteman statue, the state tree and a corporate logo. Several newspapers, however, indicate that cleaning up some of the clutter of the flag is "long overdue" but difficult to accomplish given the tradition of the flag's design.

Almost all (92.8%) run an index on page one. Of that group 40.5% of the papers run it in the far left column. Only 21.9% run a digest on page one. Of that group 59.1% run it in the left column, while 31.8% run it across the bottom.

Type Styles: Less than one third (31.9%) of the papers use 9-point type for body text, while 44.7% use a non-standard size, such as 9.5 point. A few papers still use 8 point (3.2%), while some use 10 point (19.1%). In the past five years 44.8% of the papers have increased their text size, while 47.9% have not changed the body size of their text. Almost all (95.8%) use a serif face.

Bylines are set either in 9 point (18.1%), 10 point (46.8%) or a non-standard size (19.1%). Examples of common non-standard sizes include 9.5, 10.5 or 11.5 point. Bylines were also set in all caps (47.9%), in boldface (92.7%), and in sanserif (78.7%); 64.6% have not changed the size of bylines in the past five years.

Cutlines are most commonly set in 10 point (46.3%) or in a non-standard size such as 9.5 or 10.5 (17.9%), in a sanserif face (84.4%), and equally split between boldface (50%) and medium face (50%). More than half (57.3%) have not increased the cutline size in the past five years, while 31.3% have done so.

Headlines are split between serif typefaces (55.2%) and sanserif faces (44.8%).

Editors' and Readers' Viewpoints: Among the editors surveyed, 87.4% indicated that their papers were more attractive in 1993 than they had been five years earlier. Most (85.6%) of the editors said they were satisfied with their newspaper's concern for the quality of the front page design and with the actual appearance of their front page (73.2%). A majority (55.6%) thought that the typical reader was concerned about graphic design and layout when deciding which newspaper to read.

However, editors of small circulation dailies (51.5%) were more likely to think that their average reader was not concerned about the design of their newspaper than editors of large circulation papers (29%) thought about readers' concern. (x^2=6.2, df=3, p=.05.) For example, one news editor from a small circulation daily in the Southwest said, "Smaller papers usually cater to a conservative, less open-minded audience. People in smaller towns do not welcome change. Our paper is in the latter category, so any layout design we do mustn't be a jaw-dropper." And, 93.8% of the editors agreed that when newspapers are in a competitive setting, their appearance can be a critical factor when readers are deciding which newspaper to read.

Less than one half of the papers (47.4%) have studied how their readers react to the newspapers' design. Of those who have studied their readers, 80.4% of the papers indicated that their readers were either satisfied or very satisfied with their design.

DISCUSSION

A decade ago, a study of America's front pages found an industry in the throes of an appearance-based identity crisis. Some newspapers had the latest technology; others didn't. Some were innovatively hiring artists and changing their views about the importance of design. Other held tenaciously to the view that design was an afterthought, a mechanical means of getting content onto the page.

Newspaper appearances in the early 1980s ranged from drab, vertical, black and white pages to breezy, modular colorful design. A large "design gap" existed. By the time of a follow-up study in 1988, many of the "1983 laggards" had adopted modern design techniques. Color and charts were becoming the rule rather than the exception at newspapers nationwide.

Results of this 1993 study suggest that many–but not all–of these modernization trends have continued. Results show widespread adoption of new technology with almost every newspaper using color on a daily basis, and three fourths of the graphics editors surveyed saying their papers are more attractive today than they were just five years ago.

Many of the changes are of recent vintage. Since 1988, 44.8% of the dailies have increased their body type size, 78.4% have increased their use of graphs and charts, and at some dailies, a black and white photo in 1993 on the front page is as rare as a color photo was in 1970.

The latest technologies, whether a graphics service, electronic photo editor, or a page make-up system are in most newsrooms today. For example, the use of electronic picture editing between 1988 and 1993 soared from 4.4% of dailies to 95.9%. America's dailies today have the hardware and the people to produce an attractive, modern newspaper, but it is clearly technology that drives the design-innovative engine in the industry.

Today, more than four in five dailies use a modular format, compared to 65.7% in 1983 and 78% in 1988. The percentage of newspapers using a 6-column page has leveled off at about 80%, but the percentage which will "experiment" with different column widths (due, of course, to more flexible technology) on a regular basis has continued to grow (62% in 1983; 70% in 1988; 82% in 1993). The modal front page comprises five or six stories (compared to between six and nine in 1988) and most front page stories continue to jump to an inside page.

In 1983, 86% of the newspapers surveyed had flags which spanned the width of page one, and 14.7% had flags anchored every day to the top of the page. While the percentage of trans-page flags has remained flat, today a significantly larger 36.6% have the flag atop the page every day. Perhaps this return to traditional layout stems from some studies that have shown readers' negative reactions to tampering with the flag.

Body type is getting bigger due to the aging eyes of America, and less predictable in size due to technology. Non-standard sizes such as 9.5 point have become industry modes. Regarding headlines, about two in five dailies continue to place the lead headline in the upper right corner of the page; the 1983 and 1993 numbers are identical.

Similarly about two in five say the lead story's location floats from one day to the next. In 1993, a smaller percentage of newspapers (compared to 1983 and 1988) reported that their dominant photo's location on the page varied from one day to the next. Thus, with both stories and photos, the era of shuffling content left and right, and up and down appears to have levelled off. One editor from a large-circulation daily predicts that in the not-too-distant future, there will be no format. Newspapers, he said, may publish one story or many on page one-"all dependent on the news for that day."

Typical readers probably do not notice a 1-point upgrade in type size or the shifting location of dominant stories. But, they do notice color, and are noticing a lot more of it than ever before. Today's newspapers are prolific users of color photos, and most also publish color charts and graphs. In 1983, only one in three dailies regularly published front-page color photos. And one in six said they never did. By 1988, the percentage of regular users of front page color pictures had jumped to 57%. Today it hovers near 100%. Part of the explanation for increased color use lies in printing technology. Use of letterpress has decreased since 1988 from 32% to 13%, while offset has grown from 57% to 80%.

Regarding spot color, the smaller-circulation dailies were the early adoptors of spot color in the late 1970s and early 1980s primarily because smaller-circulation dailies were the first papers to use offset printing. The larger dailies followed, but never really jumping en masse onto the spot color bandwagon. Today, the larger papers rely more on the less cluttering 4-color in photos in charts, while smaller papers continue to "spot-paint" everything from stories to teasers to indexes.

CONCLUSION

Newspapers are committed today more than ever before to an attractive appearance. The design revolution which began in the late 1970s has filtered down-in varying degrees--to every daily newspaper in the United States. Most dailies now have the same technology, have competent art/graphic staffs and a commitment to design quality. Front pages have never looked so good.

The future of newspaper design depends a great deal on which technologies are on the horizon. It is difficult to predict what the typical newspaper will look like in the next decade, but it is likely to be a refined version of what is seen today, rather than a radical change. Coming technologies will likely make editors' job easier and faster rather than drastically altering the appearance of the newspapers between now and the next century. In other words, more papers printed by offset resulting in a cleaner less cluttered front page with more 4-color photos and more 4-color infographics.

As to the future of design itself, it is likely to continue to play a secondary role to the editorial and advertising content. One graphics editor from a daily in the Midwest said that while attractive design can draw readers, "It is still most important to think content, content, content. Form follows function and if one has good stories, good art will follow."

[1] One writer notes that newspapers traditionally were "put together" rather than designed. See Ramaprasad, Jyotika. "Informational graphics in newspapers." *Newspaper Research Journal,* 12 (3), Summer 1991, 92-103.

[2] For example, in the May 8, 1993 classified advertising section of *Editor & Publisher,* there were three advertisements for graphics editors, two for page designers, two for graphic artists, one for a layout editor and one for a page design editor. Many of the ads for copy editors also indicate that pagination or Macintosh experience is preferred.

[3] "Try a 'repositioning campaign.'" *Presstime,* October 1993, page 22.

[4] Ames, Steven E. *Elements of newspaper design.* New York: Praeger, 1979, p. 50.

[5] See, for example, Smith, Mark. "Technology and the fourth estate: Expansion of color in newspapers increases pressure on proofing techniques." *American Printer,* June 1988, pp. 39-45. Also, "Summer camp for color." *Editor & Publisher,* Sept. 26, 1992, p. C14.

[6] "Color phase-in." *Editor & Publisher,* September 25, 1993, pp. 24c-25c. But, *The New York Times,* according to its publisher is still several years away from daily color. See "Sulzberger says Times' color needs improvement." *Editor & Publisher,* October 16, 1993, p. 27. Also, Johnson, Bradley. "Newspapers: Even gray lady of LA tries splash of color." *Advertising Age,* Nov. 6, 1989, p. 96.

[7] See, for example, "New owner, new look at New Jersey daily." *Editor & Publisher,* July 24, 1993, p. 3.

[8] Classified advertisement in *Editor & Publisher,* October 2, 1993, p. 41.

[9] "Pagination survey." *Editor & Publisher* April 3, 1993, p. 27.

[10] Miller, Edward D. "Where is design leading us?" *Quill,* September 1992, p. 24.

[11] Utt, Sandra H. and Pasternack, Steve. "How they look. An updated study of American newspaper front pages." *Journalism Quarterly,* 66 (3), Autumn 1989, 621-627.

[12] See, as examples, Garcia, Mario R., Click, J.W. and Stempel, Guido H., "Subscriber's reactions to redesign of the St. Cloud Daily Times." *ANPA News Research Report,* No. 32, September 1981; Pasternack, Steve and Utt, Sandra H. "Subject perception of newspaper characteristics based on front page design." *Newspaper Research Journal,* 8 (4), Fall 1986, 29-35; Bohle, Robert and Garcia, Mario R. "Reader reactions to color in newspapers." Paper presented to the Visual Communication Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Norman, Okla., 1986; Smith, Ron F. "How design and color affect reader judgment of newspapers." *Newspaper Research Journal,* 10 (1), Winter 1989, 75-85.

[13] Hynds, Ernest. *American newspapers in the 1980s.* New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1980.

[14] Kahl, Mary R. "A study of reading speed and reader preference between roman and sans serif type." Unpublished master's thesis, Iowa State University, 1974.

[15] Pasternack, Steve and Utt, Sandra H., note 13, op. cit.

[16] Utt and Pasternack, note 12, op. cit.

[17] For example, a pair of studies conducted before the arrival of *USA Today* found that newspapers in the late 1970s were already adopting some modern design characteristics. See Stone, Gerald C., Schweitzer, John C. and Weaver, David H. "Adoption of modern newspaper design." *Journalism Quarterly,* 55, 1978, 761-766. Also, J.W. Click and G.H. Stempel III. "Rate of adoption of modern format by daily newspapers." *American Newspaper Publishers Association News Research Report 22,* Sept. 28, 1979.

[18] Barnhurst, Kevin G. and Nerone, John C. "Design trends in U.S. front pages, 1885-1985." *Journalism Quarterly,* 68 (4), Winter 1991, 796-804. See also, Barnhurst, Kevin G. "News as art." *Journalism Monographs.* No. 130, December 1991.

[19] See Utt, Sandra H. and Pasternack, Steve. "Front pages of U.S. daily newspapers." *Journalism Quarterly,* 61 (4), Winter 1984, 879-884. Also, Utt and Pasternack, note 12, op. cit.

[20] Utt and Pasternack, note 9, op. cit.

[21] According to the 1993 *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook,* daily newspapers nationally are categorized as follows by circulation: 25,000 to 50,000, 48%; 50,001 to 100,000, 27%; 100,001 to 250,000, 15%; and 250,001 and above, 8%.

[22] Small newspapers are defined as those with daily circulations of less than 100,000. Large newspapers are defined as those with daily circulations of 100,000 or more.

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The Meanings of Corporate Trademarks

Edward A. Johnson
University of Alabama

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RUNNING HEAD: Trademarks Meanings

Abstract

The point is argued that graphic signs, such as trademarks, may be examined from a linguistic perspective much as words and sentences are. Corporate trademarks are then examined for their meanings (that is, their semantics). A survey of marketing communication executives for Fortune 500 companies is used to find what qualities are intended to be communicated from their trademarks. The results produced a list of 14 intended qualities.

The Meanings of Corporate Trademarks

The role of visual communication is nascent. Its counterpart, verbal communication, is already well developed, and it has its fiercely verbocentric supporters. The appearance of visual communication being the less mature of these two forms of communication does not negate the value of its study.

The premise of this research is that Peirce's semiotics can be used to examine the signs of both verbal and visual communication. This provides a basis for borrowing tools of verbal communication to examine visual images. It also becomes the theoretical foundation for applied experimentation.

Semiotics

According to Charles Peirce, semiosis is "an action, or influence, which is, or involves, an operation of three subjects, such as a sign, its object, and its interpretant." (C.P. 5.484). This addresses philosophy as much as it does communication: it deals with ontology since it assumes the existence of an object; and it deals with epistemology since it assumes the object's existence can be known; but for the purposes of this paper, only the issue of communication will be examined—specifically, how one may know an object through its sign. Peirce uses the term "object" in an almost Platonic sense rather than to simply denote a particular item.

Peirce says a sign is "something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity" (C.P. 2.228). Peirce describes three types of signs (C.P. 1:180): the icon that has the appearance of its object, such as a photograph of a spouse; the symbol which is arbitrarily assigned to its object, such as most words; and the index that indicates an object, such as a footprint in the snow indicates the path of an animal. These signs may be visual or verbal. For example, the words "my car" denote a particular vehicle, but so could a photograph of the same object—a verbal or a visual sign can similarly denote the same object.

Whereas many contemporary semioticians, such as Barthes (1988), claim not to be concerned in this sign function, the central purpose of this present research is to explore the relationships between specific signs and meanings. The meaning of visual, as with verbal, signs need not be profound. In terms of Jakobson's work, a graphic symbol, such as a trademark, may be seen as a form of phatic communication—the presence of a trademark is like a company's "hello," that maintains and reaffirms relationships, and is crucial in holding that relationship together. And, since such graphic symbols communicate more than just the denotation of a particular company, they are like Barthe's connotation that describe the interaction that occurs when the signs meets the feelings or emotions of the users and the values of their culture (Fiske 1990, 14, 57, and 86). Berger notes that all of these marketing symbols attest to the arbitrary relation that exists between signifier (mark) and signified (corporation) (1984, 101). David Carter best sums this up with his statement, "A good symbol accurately portrays the personality and function of the company.

The Dominant Word

Although semioticians claim that words and visual images may both be used as signs in the process of communication, many in the hold a bias against images and in favor of words: Bloom (1987) blames the atrophy of American thought on the televised picture eclipsing the printed word; Postman (1984) states that the video image is intrinsically evil; and Muggeridge denounces television as utterly irredeemable.

Ellul (1985), and Ewen (1988) are examples of two more communication scholars who have joined in this denunciation of visual images. Ellul believes that the word is a uniquely human sound that differentiates people from the rest of creation (Ellul, 1985, p. 14). Not only does Ellul believe that words are distinctly human signs, but that words alone can communicate truth.

Like Ellul, Ewen claims that a dishonesty of expression has become the visual lingua franca. For both Ewen and Ellul, the essence of their grievance (in semiotic terms) centers on their belief that the modern image is a sign devoid of meaning—utterly separated from its object. Others, such as Nimmo and Combs (1990), Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and Carey (1989), outright deny the existence of an objective reality. The interesting turn is that they write as though their views were real and objective.

The Substance of the Verbo-Centric Arguments

The essence of the verbo-centric scholar's views may be reduced to three claims. The first is that visual images have a detrimental effect on society. The major shortcoming of this view is the failure to establish any causal relationship between the increased presence of visual images in society and any increase in social ills. Perhaps both variables are dependent upon a third variable, such as the possible loss of an end purpose for society, as claimed by McIntyre (1984).

In the second claim, made by Ellul, images are purported to be unable to communicate truth, but again the scholars fail to provide measurable evidence. Certainly the visual image is a different type of sign from the word and may well be better suited to connoting emotions than denoting logical reasoning, but this in itself fails to make it unworthy as a subject of communication research. Perhaps an image may more truthfully communicate an emotion than words could; and perhaps these differences between words and images make all the more reason that visual images need to be studied. Sontag (1977) and Knorr-Cetina (1981) address this in their discussions of how the camera establishes its own discourse.

The final claim is the verbo-centric scholars' belief about human language. Ellul, like Chomsky, claims that language is unique and distinct to humans. But there is research, such as Sebeok's zoosemiotics, about animals' use of sound to communication. On the other hand, there is no evidence of any creature other than humans making visual icons—images that resemble in appearance specific objects. Perhaps it is in visual rather than verbal communication where the destination of human communication lies.

It is suggested here, then, that the image is a valid sign for communication studies, although it may operate in a dimension different from that for the word. One example of this difference is suggested in the research results of Roger Sperry. He found that there appear to be two modes of thinking, verbal and nonverbal, represented separately in the left and right hemispheres of the human brain. Sperry states that educational systems, as well as science in general, tend to neglect the nonverbal form of intellect (Edwards, 1979, p. 29).

History supports this belief. Art historian and surgeon, Shlain, like Sperry, believes in a visually-oriented right side of the brain. He notes that Newton's discoveries were expressed in equations (apparently using the left brain), whereas DiVinci's were expressed in drawings (apparently using the right brain) (Shlain, 1991, p. 74). So, not only is the visual image an alternative sign to the word, but apparently people—such as artists—have a propensity to use a different part of the brain to think in visual rather than verbal terms.

A Rationale for Using Linguistic Techniques to Examine Images

If the visual image is indeed a valid sign, then some of the research techniques used to examine verbal signs—such as in linguistics—may be used to examine visual communication as well.

Fromkin and Rodman state that when people learn a language they learn the elements and rules that constitute the grammar of language. In one sense, the grammar includes everything speakers know about their language—the sound system, called phonology, the system of meanings, called semantics, and the rules of sentence formation, called syntax (Fromkin & Rodman, 1978, p. 9, 11).

Pike states that the presence of such stable grammatical characteristics have to be taken as a presupposition of linguistic study. This is a fundamental assumption of linguistics: in a speech community some speech-utterances are consistent as to form and meaning (Pike, 1967, p. 621).

The theoretical basis of this present research is that each of these linguistic elements of grammar could have a counterpart in visual communication: visual images are based on a system of visual elements similar to a phonology; visual images have a system of meanings similar to semantics; and there are rules that govern the formation of these images similar to a syntax. As with Pike's linguistic presuppositions, these visual characteristics may be relatively stable, with some images being alike as to form and meaning.

The goal, then, of this present research is to begin to develop a descriptive visual grammar. Fromkin and Rodman (1978, p. 9) state that a descriptive grammar does not tell how one should speak; instead it describes people's basic linguistic knowledge, it explains how it is possible for people to speak and understand, and it explains what it is people know about the sounds, words, phrases, and sentences of their language. Therefore, the purpose of developing a descriptive visual grammar is to examine what meanings are actually communicated through different patterns of graphic elements.

An important issue of visual grammar is how people come to understand the meaning of visual images. Osgood (1957, 1975) extensively sought universal meanings for graphic elements such as color as well as for words. The generality of certain relationships was quite striking: for example, good gods, places, social positions, etc., were almost always up and light (white), whereas bad things were down and dark (black) (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957, p. 23). Although the idea of universals is not currently in vogue in the academy, the examination of their possible presence deserves at least consideration.

Another source of meaning is convention, brought about when arbitrary signs are regularly used with certain meanings. In verbal communication, learning a spoken language includes learning the "agreed-upon" meaning of certain strings of sounds and learning how to combine these meaningful units into larger units which also convey meaning. Individuals are not free to change the meanings of these words at will, for if they did they would be unable to communicate with anyone (Fromkin & Rodman, 1978, p. 163). People are seldom cognizant of this process. Any normal child, born anywhere in the world, of any racial, geographical, social, or economic heritage, is capable of learning any language to which he or she is exposed (Fromkin & Rodman, 1978, p. 331). Generally without realizing it, children learn all the major rules of their native language before ever entering formal education. For example, in jungle settings indigenous people learn their own, often complex, language which seldom or never has been written or translated.

The same thing may happen with the subconscious learning of a visual grammar. Just as children, without formal training, learn much of their native language by observing the usage of sound patterns in their community, so graphic artists may also—at a deeper, intuitive level—learn the conventional grammar of visual communication. This process may take place in the right hemisphere of that brain the does not lend itself to verbal explanation. Examining the neuroscientific aspect of visual communication is beyond the scope of this research, but using these linguistic principles to explore visual grammar is certainly within its range.

The Precedence for a Visual Grammar

Linguists more than other scholars seem kindly disposed toward the idea of a visual grammar. Perhaps this is due to the fact that linguists can better envision the application of their skills to related fields; or perhaps it is due to the fact that the history of visual and verbal communications has not been as distinct or as mutually exclusive as one might expect.

In historical terms, Eco (1984, p. 33) notes that more than 1500 years ago Augustine brought together the theory of sign and the theory of language. The origin of a visual grammar is pushed much further back by Shlain (1991, p. 29) to the beginning of written history when he states that the alphabet was civilization's first abstract art form. The linguists, Fromkin and Rodman, elaborated on this process of a visual (written) language:

Cave drawings such as those found in the Altamira cave in northern Spain, drawn by humans living over 20,000 years ago, can be "read" today. Later drawings are clearly "picture writing," or pictograms. Unlike modern writing systems, each picture or pictogram is a direct image of the object it represents. There is a nonarbitrary relationship between the form and meaning of the symbol.... In the course of time the pictogram's meaning was extended, in that the picture represented not only the original object but attributes of that object, of concepts associated with it. Pictograms thus began to represent ideas rather than objects, and such pictograms are called ideograms ("idea pictures" or "idea writing"). Later,... the form and the meaning of a pictogram were fixed in an arbitrary relationship. The pictograms were now linguistic symbols;... (Fromkin & Rodman, 1978, p. 357-59).

At what point does one say that writing departed from visual communication: with the pictogram, with the ideogram or with the later arbitrary alphabet? Surely this departure was a continual process rather than a single point of separation. As one traces this development of recorded language, it appears that the conventions of these images were comprised by an ancient visual grammar.

In sociological terms, Pike states that language may no longer be viewed as something entirely distinct from other cultural systems but must rather be viewed as part of the whole and functionally related to it (Pike, 1967, p. 34). Pike says that society, like language, is something that has a grammar. There is in society an internal organization below the conscious level. Culture, like language, has pattern (Pike, 1967, p. 665). Logically, then, it is reasonable to discuss a grammar for visual images as part of the cultural whole.

While there are strong parallels between the grammars of visual and verbal communication, they are strongly divergent at other points. Extending this difference between words and images, Shlain (1991, p. 17) notes that visual artists create a language of symbols for things for which there are not yet words. Whereas Chomsky holds that language is a uniquely human characteristic, Shlain believes the use of images is at the core of distinctly human way of thinking. Shlain believes that because the erosion of images by words occurs at such an early age, people forget that in order to learn something radically new, they need first to imagine it—"imagine" literally means to "make an image" (Shlain, 1991, p. 18). Therefore, for Shlain, the visual process precedes, and may even surpass, the verbal process in human development.

In summary, the word and the visual image are both signs used in human communication, similarities and contrasts in the development and use of both signs. Although there are scholars who express strong biases toward verbal communication, their comments fail to negate the value of studying visual communication. It is posited here that the tools of verbal communication may be used in the study of visual images. Today, images in marketing communication appear to offer the richest examples for this study of visual signs.

Applying Visual Grammar to One Graphic Medium—Corporate Trademarks

Most large corporations each have a registered symbol to represent itself. Russel, Lane, Nicholson and Nelson (1990, 552) correctly call these symbols "trade names" and "house marks" since they represent parent corporations rather than particular products. The term "trademark," though, is used in this article since this is what these symbols are registered as with the U. S. Department of Commerce.

For several reasons, these corporate trademark make a good visual genre to begin to apply the concept of visual grammar: 1) parsimony of design and purpose—the trademark is a concise graphic design that is meant to visually identify a particular company; 2) stability—the cost in terms of time and money to design, resister, and use a corporate trademark makes it is less likely to be subject to the whims of fashion; 3) intent—companies invest substantial amounts in the creation and research of corporate trademarks to ensure they successfully communicate their intended meanings; 4) breadth—if all types of corporations are examined, there should be no bias in terms of limited types of products represented; and 5) Abstraction—the meaning of trademarks must be communicated through its abstract, graphic presentation.

To examine these corporate trademarks in linguistic terms, one must do more that catalog the basic graphic components of trademarks—the visual equivalence of phonemes. One must also understand the intended meanings. In this case, what qualities are intended to be connoted by corporate trademarks.

Articles and books are rare that analyze the intended meanings of commercial symbols such as trademarks. David Carter (1983, 1986) is one of the few authors who deals with trademarks at all, but much of his work consists of compilations of examples rather than formal categorizations.

Kepes (1966) and Tufte (1990) are both important writers in visual communication, but their works are more eclectic observations than systematic examinations. Nowhere in their writings do they address the connotation of meanings in commercial symbols such as trademarks.

The most systematic and analytical writing on the meanings of trademarks is to be found in Trademarks, in which Werkman (1974) examines the trademarks of perfumes, brassieres, automobiles, and cigarettes in Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States. In this illustrated work, Werkman outlines the purpose of trademarks: enhance distinctiveness, name the product, enable recognition of the product, facilitate remembrance of the product, indicate the origin of the product, convey product information, stimulate the desire to buy, and symbolize guarantee. Unfortunately, Werkman fails to develop how visual images achieve these purposes.

The primary purpose of this research, therefore, is to explore whether there are specific meanings, beyond the basic denotation of a corporation, that are intended to be communicated through the trademarks of leading corporations. This approaches a search for visual semantics.

This purpose for this study can be stated in two hypotheses:

> H1—Major corporations intend to connote specific meanings through their trademarks, and

> H2—There is a limited list of specific meanings that corporations intend to communicate through their trademarks.

Method

Before their meanings could be investigated, the trademarks themselves had to be first selected. There were two criteria used in selecting trademarks: that each trademark represent a company from the most recent Fortune 500 list and that each trademark is registered with the Commerce Department.

For the first criterion, a list of companies was compiled from Fortune's most recent issue containing its Fortune 500 companies—in the April 20, 1992 issue. For the second criterion, a search for the trademarks of these Fortune 500 companies was done at the public search room of the Patent and Trade Office in Arlington, Virginia. A second search was also done of the "November 11, 1992 PTDLP Trademarks" compact disc at the federal depository in Birmingham, Alabama. Any questionable and unconfirmed trademarks were deleted.

From these searches 247 corporate trademarks were found. There were 85 companies that registered only their names without examples containing graphic elements. There were 126 companies for which no registrations were found at all. Forty-two trademarks were deleted because of questionable validity. Therefore, it is possible the remaining 247 trademarks are the entire population of available Fortune 500 trademarks (although no such claim is made).

From this list of 247 companies, the names of the most appropriate marketing executives were sought from the Standard Directory of Advertisers-1992. Executives who were listed in marketing were selected first. Where there were none listed, executives from advertising or communication were selected. Similarly, vice-presidents were selected first, but when none were available, managers or directors were selected.

If no appropriate title could be found, the name of the company president was used.

A preliminary survey was sent to 28 of the 247 companies. In 1992 Fortune divided its list of 500 companies into 28 industries. One random company was selected for each industry from the list of 247 companies to better gain a representation across industries. Each of these companies was sent on February 11, 1993 a letter with an open-ended question as to what qualities were intended to be communicated through their companies' trademarks. Nine usable responses plus one refusal were received. Based on the 14 qualities received from this preliminary survey, a multiple-choice questionnaire was designed. A line was added to the multiple-choice questionnaire than allowed respondents to write in other qualities.

On March 8, 1993 this multiple-choice questionnaire was sent in the form of a one-page letter to each of the 219 companies that had not yet received a questionnaire. By April 24, 1993, a total of 125 usable responses was received (a 51% response rate) with two more companies replying that they did not respond to surveys.

Results

The first survey question asked, "Is your company's trademark meant to communicate the qualities of your company as well as identify it?" The respondents were nearly equally divided: 49.6% said yes, 44.8% said no, and 5.6% were missing.

Next the respondents were asked, "Check those qualities that are intended to be communicated through your company's trademark." The most frequent selections were "quality," "tradition," "strength," and "integrity"—all receiving more than 40% response (Table 1). Although the respondents were asked to try not to check more than half the qualities, the median number of responses was 10, with a range from 0 to 14. One subject selected none of the qualities; 12 selected all 14.

Place Tables 1 and 2 about here.

After being allowed to check multiple qualities, the respondents were then asked to select the single most important quality to be communicated by their trademarks. They were asked to either circle a quality from the list of 14, or to write one in. The results were very similar to those of the multiple-choice question (Table 2). Of the 116 multiple-choice responses received, there were only six qualities written-in, and only "energy" was mentioned more than once. This lack of written-in responses supports the validity of the multiple-choice list.

Beside indicating qualities and identify, a trademark may also indicate a particular industry. Respondents were asked, "Is your company's trademark also meant to signify a particular field of industry? " More than a third (36.0 percent) responded "yes," 58.4 percent "no." The companies that felt their trademarks communicate qualities also tended to feel their trademarks signify a particular field or industry ($\chi^2 = 14.95$, df 1, $p < 0.01$).

When asked whether their company has a written statement as to what its trademark is to symbolize, 30.4 percent said they did. The same percentage said their company had researched whether its trademark communicated what it was intended to . About a fifth (19.2 percent) said they were involved with the development of their trademarks. Companies that feel their trademarks communicate qualities also tend to have researched this ($\chi^2 = 13.32$, df 2, $p < 0.01$).

Discussion

The results of this study support its two hypotheses:

H1 (supported)—Major corporations intend to connote specific meanings through their trademarks

Many major corporations do expect their trademarks to communicate more than the simple identification of corporations. Half (49.6 percent) of the respondents agreed with the statement that their corporate trademarks are intended to communicate the qualities of their companies. More than a third (36.0 percent) agreed that their company's trademark was meant to signify a particular field or industry.

Not only is this communication of qualities and industries intended, but there is proprietary evidence those meanings and the trademarks' effectiveness in communicating them. Nearly a third (30.4 percent) have written statements of such intended meaning and have investigated whether or not those trademarks do carry such meanings.

Further data needs to be gathered from respondents who said their corporate trademarks were not meant to communicate more than the identification of their corporations. Perhaps some had reason to believe a trademark could communicate no more than this, or perhaps they believed the identification of corporations was sufficient purpose for their trademarks. At this point, only speculation seems to be possible on this point.

Overall, these results are evidence of the applied use of visual semantics and its success. This support the value of further investigating the meaning of graphic elements, such as the ones found in corporate trademarks.

H2 (supported)—There is a limited list of specific meanings that corporations intend to communicate through their trademarks

Only 14 qualities were listed by nine respondents when asked what qualities their corporate trademarks were intended to mean. In a subsequent survey in which respondents were able to write in additional qualities, only six out of 116 did so.

These 14 qualities were not universal meanings of all corporations, but rather the respondents' corporations could be segmented by these terms. One hundred and twelve out of 125 respondents selected combinations from one to 13 qualities as being meaningful for their corporations.

Therefore, there appears to be a limited list of qualities meant to be communicated through trademarks in order to describe particular corporations. This is further support of the value of investigating the linguistic qualities (such as semantics) of graphic elements, such as the ones found in corporate trademarks.

If in fact there are semantic meanings associated with graphic images—as this study suggests—then further research needs to be done to investigate whether there are patterns of specific graphic elements being used with trademarks that are meant to communicate certain qualities. If there were such patterns, the could become the basic for a graphic lexicon—an explicit dictionary of graphic meanings which currently is known only intuitively by commercial artists.

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Table 1
Qualities Intended to be Communicated
Through Corporate Trademarks
(multiple responses possible)

Qualities	Frequency	Percentage
Quality	69	55.2
Tradition	62	49.6
Strength	54	43.2
Integrity	53	42.4
Leadership	49	39.2
Trustworthy	47	37.6
Modern	36	28.8
Innovation	33	26.4
International	29	23.2
Uniqueness	19	15.2
High-tech	19	15.2
Precision	17	13.6
People-oriented	14	11.2
Multi-industrial	11	8.8

Table 2

The Most Important Quality Intended to be Communicated Through Corporate Trademarks (single responses only)

Most Important Quality	Frequency	Percentage
Quality	23	27.1
Tradition	9	10.6
Integrity	7	8.2
Trustworthy	6	7.1
Strength	5	5.9
Leadership	5	5.9
Innovation	5	5.9
ID only *	5	5.9
High-tech	3	3.5
International	3	3.5
Multi-industrial	3	3.5
Modern	2	2.4
People-oriented	2	2.4
Energy *	2	2.4
Precision	1	1.2
Regional *	1	1.2
Longevity *	1	1.2
On the move *	1	1.2
Refreshment *	1	1.2

* written in

Check out

John Wood—Daguerreotype Photos TR365.D35 1989, TR365.A47 1991
William Gonzel—Dustbowl Dissent (FSA photos) n/a
Laurance Levine n/a
Trachtenberg Alan —Documentory American E806.D616 1988
F. Jack Hurley TR820.5.H87
Mitchell—Picture Theory NX170.M58
Paul Messaris—(ad vis book) LB1068.M47 1994
Visualizing Theory GN347.V575 1994
Eco and Sebeok—The Sign of Three n/a8
Saul Bass "Logos" in Paul Lester's book Visual Communication
Wright & Wilmington

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Rune Pettersson, IVLA (intended, perceived)

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